

**NOMINATIONS OF THE 112TH  
CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION**

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
UNITED STATES SENATE**

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

—————  
MARCH 16 THROUGH DECEMBER 8, 2011  
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Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations



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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS  
112TH CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION

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KENNETH A. MYERS, JR., *Republican Staff Director*

\*Note: WILLIAM C. DANVERS (assumed *Staff Director* position as of October 3, 2011)

## NOMINATIONS

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 2011

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,  
*Washington, DC.*

Robert A. Mandell, of Florida, to be U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg  
Hon. Thomas Charles Krajeski, of Virginia, to be U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Bahrain  
Hon. Dan W. Mozena, of Iowa, to be U.S. Ambassador to the People's Republic of Bangladesh  
Michael A. Hammer, of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:04 a.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Jeanne Shaheen, presiding.

Present: Senators Shaheen, Barrasso, and Risch.

### **OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JEANNE SHAHEEN, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE**

Senator SHAHEEN. Good morning, everyone. Today the Senate Foreign Relations Committee meets to consider the nominations of: Mr. Robert Mandell, to be the U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg; Ambassador Thomas Charles Krajeski, to be the U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Bahrain; Ambassador Dan Mozena, to be confirmed to be—I'm sorry, I misread that—Ambassador Dan Mozena, to be the U.S. Ambassador to the People's Republic of Bangladesh; and Mr. Michael Hammer, to be the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. Welcome, everyone.

I want to congratulate each of you on your nominations, and I also want to welcome all of your families and friends who are here today. I look forward to hearing from each of you about the unique challenges and opportunities you face in your new position upon your confirmation. I'm going to begin by making an opening statement and then I will turn it over to each of you to make a statement, and then we will do some questions.

Luxembourg is a small but influential member of the European Union and the eurozone economy, as well as a founding member of NATO. As one of the wealthiest countries in the world, Luxembourg is highly dependent upon trade and investment and has played an active role in deepening European economic integration,

which gives Luxembourg a particularly unique view with respect to the ongoing eurozone debt crisis.

As perhaps the most critical issue facing Europe and the transatlantic space, the ongoing sovereign debt crisis in Europe continues to affect global financial markets around the world and is having spillover effects on economic and financial confidence here at home. How Europe responds to this crisis will have dramatic implications, not only for the future of Europe, but also across the broad spectrum of U.S. interests.

There is a path forward and Europe does have the economic capacity to manage these very difficult challenges. However, a credible solution will require some very tough decisions and bold, coordinated actions from Europe's leaders. I look forward to hearing your thoughts, Mr. Mandell, on the role Luxembourg can play on this important effort.

Ambassador Krajewski, as you know, Bahrain is a long-time U.S. ally in a very difficult neighborhood. As the headquarters of the U.S. Navy's Fifth Fleet and designated as a major non-NATO ally in 2001, Bahrain shares a wide range of regional security interests with the United States, including the threat of increasing Iranian influence across the Persian Gulf.

Today our bilateral relationship is at a pivotal point, as Bahrain struggles in the face of ongoing protests linked to the Arab Spring which erupted in February 2011. In response to largely peaceful demonstrations, Bahrain declared a state of emergency and invited security assistance from neighboring gulf countries. Continued protests, detentions, and arrests have increased ethnic and religious tensions and reduced prospects for a sustainable political solution in Bahrain.

In May, President Obama declared that mass arrests and brute force are at odds with the universal rights of Bahrain's citizens, and that, "You cannot have a real dialogue when parts of the peaceful opposition are in jail."

The committee will be interested to hear how the administration intends to follow up on that strong declaration and how we will encourage real dialogue and a peaceful solution for all of Bahrain's citizens, Shia and Sunni alike.

Ambassador Mozena, Bangladesh is an overwhelmingly Muslim country with a relatively moderate secular and democratic government, located in a strategically important northern region of the Bay of Bengal in South Asia. As relationships between China, India, and the rest of South Asia continue to evolve, Bangladesh, with its energy reserves and important trade routes, will play an increasingly significant role in the region.

Finally today, we will assess how the State Department communicates its message around the world, Mr. Hammer. In an extremely fast-paced, open and interconnected global marketplace of ideas, it's not enough to simply create and implement sound policies any more. Now we must also be able to quickly and effectively broadcast those policies around the globe.

Communications strategy and winning hearts and minds is a critical component of any effective foreign policy and national security strategy. We must also be on the cutting edge of communications technology, utilizing modern social media tools, including

texting, Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. I will be interested to hear how the Department intends to keep up in this complex environment.

Again, I want to thank each of you for your willingness to take on these important and challenging posts. I will briefly introduce each of our nominees before turning it over to you for your opening statements. But first I want to see if Senator Barrasso, who's the ranking member on the subcommittee, has an opening statement.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN BARRASSO,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM WYOMING**

Senator BARRASSO. Well, thank you very much, Madam Chairman. Today the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations meets to consider four very important nominations. Each of these posts is important to fostering vital relationships and promoting U.S. national interests, and there are truly real challenges ahead. It's important that the United States continues to be a strong leader across the globe.

So I join you, Madam Chairman, in congratulating each one of our nominees. In addition, I want to extend a warm welcome to all of their friends and families. I see Senator Nelson here and I don't want to delay him at all.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Senator Nelson is here to introduce Robert Mandell, so I will let you do that introduction, Senator Nelson, before I go on to introduce our other nominees this morning.

**STATEMENT OF HON. BILL NELSON,  
U.S. SENATOR FROM FLORIDA**

Senator NELSON. Madam Chairman, I want to thank you for your personal consideration of having this hearing and for particularly speeding up the consideration of our friend from Florida, Bobby Mandell.

I want to at this moment just thank all of these people at the table for their public service. You all are going to some very critical parts of the world. In addition to the administration of the State Department, I have been to most of these critical parts of the world and I can tell you that my impression of the Foreign Service is that we are very fortunate to have the quality of the Foreign Service officers that represent us around the country—around the world. As a result, in this new world in which we live the Foreign Service becomes all the more important, because as we are projecting soft power representing the interests of the United States that clearly involves all the agencies of government and certainly the Foreign Service.

So, Madam Chairman, I come with an eye that's cocked on quality and that's why I wanted to come here today, because I have seen that a political ambassador, as opposed to a career Foreign Service officer, if that ambassador is a good one, can be one of the most effective tools of representation for the United States of America. I've seen that in Republican and Democratic administrations. I've seen that, the ambassador be all the more effective with a strong DCM because of the political connection, if you will, back

to the administration of the ambassador having been all the more effective.

I think of, for example in the Bush administration, one of our more effective ambassadors was a former partner in the Texas Rangers of George Bush. He first went to the Czech Republic. He was so good—he learned Czech. He was so good, in the second Bush administration he went to Paris, and he became fluent in French. I could go on and on with a number of the ambassadors.

That's why I wanted to come here to tell you about Bobby Mandell. He is my friend. He's a personal friend. He and his family and his wife, Julie, his mom and dad, Lester and Sunny, are here in the front row. They've been personal friends of mine for years and years, so I know Bobby and I know the family, and this is the kind of person that we want representing our country.

Although Luxembourg's a little-bitty country, it's right in the middle of a fire storm of activity that is critically important to the United States. So we need a representative there that is going to stand tall and make us proud.

Now, they've had some problems in the past. That's why you need somebody of the quality of Bob Mandell to come in and represent the country. I can tell you a lot about—he's a lawyer, he is a businessman par excellence. He took over the business that his dad had started from humble beginnings, made that business multi, multi hundreds of millions of dollars of value. He has sold that business and so he has the opportunity now for public service.

I give you my highest recommendation, Madam Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, and the Senator also that's here for this committee. I had the privilege of sitting on this committee for 6 years, and I thank you all for the service that you render.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much, Senator Nelson, and thank you for being here for that introduction.

Next we have Ambassador Thomas Charles Krajewski, to be the U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Bahrain. Ambassador Krajewski is a career member of the senior Foreign Service and currently serves as the senior vice president at the National Defense University in Washington. He has served in posts around the world, including Iraq, Egypt, India, and Yemen, where he served as U.S. Ambassador. A fluent Arabic speaker, he is also the recipient of the Presidential Distinguished Honor Award for his work in Iraq and Yemen.

We also have today Ambassador Dan Mozena, the nominee to be the U.S. Ambassador to Bangladesh. Ambassador Mozena is a long-time senior Foreign Service officer and currently a professor at the National War College. He has served in a variety of posts around the world, including as Ambassador to Angola, Deputy Chief of Mission in Zambia, and as a former counselor in Bangladesh.

Finally, we have Michael Hammer, who has been nominated to be the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. Mr. Hammer is currently the Acting Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs and previously served as the senior director for Press and Communications and the spokesperson for the National Security Council. He has a long, distinguished career at the State Department and in the White House dealing with a wide variety of issues and regions around the world.



As each of you give your opening statements, I hope you will feel free to introduce any family or friends who are here to support you. And we'll begin with you, Mr. Mandell.

**STATEMENT OF ROBERT A. MANDELL, OF FLORIDA,  
NOMINATED TO BE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO LUXEMBOURG**

Mr. MANDELL. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Madam Chairman and members of the committee, good morning. I am honored to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to serve as the next Ambassador to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. I am grateful to the President and Secretary Clinton for their support and for the confidence that they have placed in me. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and working with the Congress to continue and nurture the strong relationship that exists between the United States and Luxembourg.

I'm especially grateful to a distinguished public servant, Senator Bill Nelson, for his friendship and his introduction and support today. Even though he's not present today, I would also like to thank my long-time friend, former Senator, Mel Martinez, who has been very encouraging from the very start of this process.

I would also like to introduce and publicly thank my dear wife, Julie, who has provided me support throughout my career. I would also like to introduce our children, Zachary and Xan, and my parents, Lester and Sonia Mandell, and Julie's parents, Gilbert and Joyce Walker. Several more of our family members have joined us this morning, but we don't want to take up the total committee's time for that.

Senator SHAHEEN. It's great to have a big family.

Mr. MANDELL. It's great to have a big family, thank you.

But Julie and I are very blessed to have both of our parents share this day with us. Starting from the end is my mother-in-law, Joyce Walker, and my father-in-law, Dr. Gilbert Walker, and my dad, Lester Mandell, my mother, Sonia Mandell, and my wife Julie, and my children, who are right back there, Zachary and Xan, sitting behind Julie.

My experience of over 20 years as the leader of my own and my family's business has taught me the value of human relationships in achieving success. After practicing law for more than a decade, I started over as a laborer in my family's business, the home-building business, and worked my way up the ladder over the course of several years. Starting in the field significantly affected my approach to business. It meant that I would wear a bright yellow shirt that had "Bobby" written over one side of my pocket and on the other side it had "Greater Homes" written. So I knew who I was and where I worked. I also got to drive a 6-year-old pickup truck with three on the column and no air conditioning. That way my dad knew that I wouldn't be sitting in the truck during the long hot days of summer. It also didn't have a radio because he thought that work should be entertaining enough.

This early experience taught me that it was essential to treat people fairly, build the right relationships, and by doing the right thing for the right reasons engender the trust of those around you, especially the ones you work with.

After all was said and done, our company built over 10,000 houses all in the Central Florida area. The same leadership and relationship skills have served me well in my roles at the local, state-wide, and Federal level, having served for the past 2 years on President Obama's Export Council. If confirmed, I hope to bring these same skills to bear as the Ambassador to Luxembourg.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is a longstanding ally of the United States. It is a founding member of NATO, the United Nations, and the European Union. Thanks to the enormous sacrifices of the United States Armed Forces which liberated Luxembourg in World War II, there is a deep reservoir of goodwill toward the United States in Luxembourg. Our bilateral relationship with Luxembourg is emphatically positive.

If confirmed, I will strive to continue our strong and productive relationship by maintaining effective outreach programs and developing relationships with the government, the business community, youth, Luxembourg citizens, and the residents of every background.

I have worked to develop the President's National Export Initiative and our Nation's economic expansion by my service on President Obama's Export Council over the past 2 years. If confirmed, I plan to continue working to increase American exports to Europe. Luxembourg is a major financial center in Europe, second only to the United States worldwide in the mutual fund industry, managing over \$3 trillion in net assets. Financial services comprise about 25 percent of Luxembourg's GDP. Accordingly, the United States works closely with the Government of Luxembourg to combat the financing of terrorism and money laundering.

Embassy Luxembourg has been engaged in negotiations to sign an agreement with Luxembourg on preventing and combating serious crimes and guard against the involvement of the financial industry in global criminal activity. If I am confirmed by the Senate, I will make the conclusion of these negotiations and signing this agreement one of my first priorities. In addition, if confirmed I will encourage Luxembourg to continue to increase the transparency of its banking system.

As part of my public diplomacy strategy, if I am confirmed I intend to reach out to a new European generation that has grown up since the end of the cold war and the division of Europe into two opposing camps. I hope to work with them and with other Luxembourg citizens to develop a stronger transatlantic alliance that looks forward to a generation of peace, security, and prosperity.

Should I be confirmed, I plan to pursue opportunities to encourage new technologies using the resources of both the United States and Luxembourg in medical diagnostics and health care, based upon our respective leading roles in these fields. For the past 20 years I have gained experience in this area by serving on the board of directors of Florida Hospital, one of our Nation's largest hospitals, and on the board of directors of the Sanfred Burnham Institute for Medical Research for the last 5 years.

I'm excited by this chance to serve our country and very grateful for this opportunity. Madam Chair, members of the committee, if confirmed it would be my greatest honor to represent the United States in Luxembourg. Thank you for your consideration. I would be happy to answer any questions that you might have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Mandell follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROBERT A. MANDELL

Madam Chairman and members of the committee, good morning. I am honored to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to serve as the next Ambassador to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

I am grateful to the President and Secretary Clinton for their support and for the confidence they have placed in me.

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I would also like to introduce and publicly thank my dear wife, Julie, who has provided me support throughout my career.

I would also like to introduce our children, Zachary and Xan, and my parents, Lester and Sonia Mandell, and Julie's parents, Gilbert and Joyce Walker. Several more of our family members have joined us this morning, which we really appreciate. Julie and I are very blessed to have our parents share this wonderful day with us.

My experience of over 20 years as the leader of my own and my family's business has taught me the value of human relationships in achieving success.

After practicing law for more than a decade, I started over as a laborer in my family's home-building business and worked my way up the ladder over the course of several years. Starting in the field significantly affected my approach to business. It meant that I would wear a bright yellow shirt that had "Bobby" written over the pocket and "Greater Homes" on the other side of the shirt, so I knew who I was and where I worked. I also got to drive a 6-year-old pickup truck with no air conditioning. That way, my dad knew that I wouldn't be sitting in the truck during the long hot days of summer. It also didn't have a radio because he thought work should be entertaining enough.

This early experience taught me that it was essential to treat people fairly, build the right relationships, and by doing the right thing for the right reasons, engender the trust of those around you, especially the ones you worked with. After all was said and done, our company built over 10,000 houses, all in the central Florida area. These same leadership and relationship skills have served me well in my roles at a local, statewide, and federal level, having served for the past 2 years on President Obama's Export Council.

If confirmed, I hope to bring those same skills to bear as Ambassador to Luxembourg.

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I am excited by this chance to serve my country and grateful for this opportunity. Madam Chairman, members of the committee, if confirmed, it would be my greatest honor to represent the United States in Luxembourg. Thank you for your consideration. I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Mandell.  
Ambassador Krajewski.

**STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS CHARLES KRAJESKI, OF VIRGINIA, NOMINATED TO BE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN**

Ambassador KRAJESKI. Madam Chairman and members of the committee, I'm honored to appear before you today. I want to thank President Obama and Secretary Clinton for nominating me to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Bahrain.

Madam Chairman, I would like to take a moment to acknowledge my family members and colleagues here today, most especially my wife, Bonnie, who has served with me for my 32 years in the Foreign Service.

For 32 years I've served proudly the United States Government and the American people in the Middle East and Washington. If confirmed, I look forward to leading the Embassy Manama team as we advance U.S. interests in the region and strengthen our bilateral relationship with Bahrain. The United States and Bahrain have a long history of cooperation and partnership based on mutual interests in regional security. If confirmed, I will make it a top priority to continue this partnership while encouraging and supporting reforms that meet the needs and aspirations of Bahrain's citizens.

I believe that these priorities are mutually reinforcing. Bahrain's long-term stability depends on addressing domestic grievances, not through repression, but through genuine reform and reconciliation. If confirmed, I will be working with our Bahraini partners to develop their ability to respond to external threats to the nation's security and ensure interoperability with our forces in the region. An increasingly aggressive Iran makes this effort critically important.

Political reform and respect for human rights are vital to Bahrain's stability and to the protection of U.S. interests in the region. Bahrain has a long history of reform, championed by King Hamad following his accession to the throne in 1999.

Given Bahrain's progressive record on democratic reform and in the context of strong partnership, the U.S. remains deeply concerned by the events that followed demonstrations in February and March of this year. Initially the Bahraini Government, led by the crown prince, called for dialogue with all parties. But as protests turned increasingly confrontational, the government declared emer-

gency law, requested the deployment of Gulf Cooperation Council's forces, and began an internal security crackdown.

During this period of widespread arrests and trials of detainees before the so-called National Safety Courts, there were many credible reports of serious human rights abuses by security forces. The U.S. Government has repeatedly emphasized to Bahrain's leadership the importance of taking steps to address these violations, restore public trust, and promote national reconciliation. Toward this end, King Hamad has taken steps to foster reform and resolve political differences. Among these was a month-long national dialogue concluded at the end of July. On July 29 the king declared his support for all matters on which the dialogue had reached consensus and he ordered legislative and executive authorities to implement the dialogue's recommendations for reform.

We believe that these are important first steps in bringing together Bahrainis from across ideological and sectarian lines.

Another initiative has been the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry, led by internationally recognized legal experts. It has a broad mandate to investigate reports of violations of civil and human rights. The commission will release a public report next month. We expect the Government of Bahrain to give serious consideration to the commission's recommendations and take necessary action to ensure accountability for abuses and to prevent any recurrences.

Madam Chairman, if confirmed one of my top priorities will be to support and encourage these initiatives and others to advance the process of democratic and economic reform. This will strengthen Bahrain and it will strengthen our partnership.

Finally, Madam Chairman, if confirmed my first priority will be the safety and security of all U.S. citizens who live, do business, and vacation in Bahrain. Our countries have benefited enormously from these exchanges and I plan to encourage them.

Thank you again for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Krajewski follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS C. KRAJESKI

Madam Chairman and members of the committee, I am honored to appear before you today. I want to thank President Obama and Secretary Clinton for nominating me to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Bahrain.

Madam Chairman, I would like to take a moment to acknowledge my family members and colleagues here today.

For 32 years, I have served proudly the United States Government and the American people in the Middle East and Washington. If confirmed, I look forward to leading the Embassy Manama team, as we advance U.S. interests in the region and strengthen our bilateral relationship with Bahrain.

The United States and Bahrain have a long history of cooperation and partnership, based on mutual interests in regional security. If confirmed, I will make it a top priority to continue this partnership, while encouraging and supporting reforms that meet the needs and aspirations of Bahrain's citizens. I believe that these priorities are mutually reinforcing. Bahrain's long-term stability depends on addressing domestic grievances not through repression, but through genuine reform and reconciliation.

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Thank you again for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.  
Ambassador Mozena.

**STATEMENT OF HON. DAN W. MOZENA, OF IOWA, NOMINATED  
TO BE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
BANGLADESH**

Ambassador MOZENA. Thank you, Madam Chairman. I am honored to appear today as President Obama's nominee as United States Ambassador to Bangladesh. I am grateful to the President and Secretary Clinton for their confidence in me. I am grateful also to the Senate for confirming me 4 years ago as Ambassador to Angola and for allowing me to present myself today.

With your permission, Madam Chairman, I wish to introduce my wife of 40 years, Grace. She and I have traveled together on a journey that has taken us far from our roots in rural Dubuque County, Iowa, where I was raised on a 120-acre dairy farm and where we both attended one-room country schools.

Thirty-seven years ago we began our public service as Peace Corps Volunteers in Zaire, where we helped villagers raise chickens. That grassroots experience taught us that the rarified air of diplomacy is far removed from the life of ordinary folks.

During my overseas postings I traveled widely, taking America to the people. If confirmed, I propose to do the same in Bangladesh by visiting all 64 districts.

Having served in Dhaka from 1998 to 2001, I know that America has profound interests in Bangladesh, the world's seventh most populous country and fourth-largest Muslim population. Bangladesh offers a moderate, secular, democratic alternative to violent extremism. Through improved relations with India, Bangladesh has deepened counterterrorism cooperation with its biggest neighbor, thus fostering stability in a troubled region.

Bangladesh bolsters global stability as the world's largest contributor to international peacekeeping. The country is critical to global stability, global food security. Although its population of 160 million lives in an area the size of my home State of Iowa, Bangladesh could indeed feed itself. Other U.S. interests include promoting democracy and respect for human rights, bolstering U.S. trade and investment, and advancing humanitarian interests, especially disaster preparedness.

I believe that we can best advance U.S. interests by promoting a Bangladesh that is democratic, that is peaceful, that is secure, prosperous, and healthy.

In some respects, Bangladesh is the little engine that could. The people are resilient and entrepreneurial. The economy has grown annually at about 6 percent, reducing the poverty rate from 40 percent to 31.5 percent over the past 5 years, thus lifting millions out of poverty and creating opportunities for American exports.

The country is reining in its population growth rate and achieving Millennium Development goals, especially maternal and child health. Civil society is dynamic. Witness Grameen Bank and BRAC, which are translating grassroots democracy into development. Women are more empowered, the press is vociferous, and Bangladesh actively combats terrorism. The nation pulses with optimism.

Nonetheless, Bangladesh's challenges are daunting. Its democratic institutions are weak. Relations between the leading political parties are deeply polarized. Corruption is a serious challenge. Government's intentions toward civil society are unclear and the nation is threatened by natural disasters and rising seas caused by climate change.

America is a strong partner of Bangladesh. We can be proud of helping Bangladesh confront its challenges, especially in health and disaster preparedness. Given Bangladesh's strategic importance and its prospects for a better future, Bangladesh is the beneficiary of the President's three major development initiatives: Feed the Future, the Global Health Initiative, and Global Climate Change. Bangladesh is an important partner as we build on President Obama's commitment to forge new relations with the Muslim world.

If confirmed, I will advance America's interests by implementing these initiatives while helping Bangladesh confront serious governance, human rights, and poverty concerns. I will also partner with the Bangladeshi American community to achieve these shared objectives.

I believe Bangladesh is a good partner for the United States in building a better world. If confirmed, I will do everything in my power to build on the success of my predecessors to strengthen this partnership.

Madam Chairman, thank you again for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Mozena follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. DAN W. MOZENA

Madam Chairman, members of the committee, I am honored to appear today as President Obama's nominee as United States Ambassador to Bangladesh. I am grateful to the President and Secretary Clinton for their confidence in me. I am grateful also to the Senate for confirming me 4 years ago as Ambassador to Angola, and for allowing me to present myself today.

With your permission, Madam Chairman, I wish to introduce my wife of 40 years, Grace. She and I have traveled together on a journey that has taken us far from our roots in rural Dubuque County, IA, where I was raised on a 120-acre dairy farm and where we both attended one-room country schools.

Thirty-seven years ago, we began our public service as Peace Corps Volunteers in Zaire, where we helped villagers raise chickens. That grassroots experience taught us that the rarefied air of diplomacy is far removed from the life of ordinary folks. During my overseas postings I traveled widely, taking America to the people. If confirmed, I propose to do the same in Bangladesh by visiting all 64 districts.

Having served in Dhaka from 1998–2001, I know that America has profound interests in Bangladesh, the world's seventh most populous country and fourth-largest Muslim population. Bangladesh offers a moderate, secular, democratic alternative to violent extremism. Through improved relations with India, Bangladesh has deepened counterterrorism cooperation with its biggest neighbor, thus fostering stability in a troubled region. Bangladesh bolsters global stability as the world's largest contributor to international peacekeeping. The country is critical to global food security; although its population of 160 million lives in an area the size of my home State of Iowa, Bangladesh could feed itself. Other U.S. interests include promoting democracy and respect for human rights, bolstering U.S. trade and investment, and advancing humanitarian interests, especially disaster preparedness.

I believe that we can best advance U.S. interests by promoting a Bangladesh that is democratic, peaceful, secure, prosperous, and healthy.

In some respects, Bangladesh is "The Little Engine that Could." The people are resilient and entrepreneurial; the economy has grown annually at about 6 percent, reducing the poverty rate from 40 percent to 31.5 percent over the past 5 years, thus lifting millions out of poverty and creating opportunities for American exports; the country is reining in its population growth rate and achieving Millennium Development Goals, especially maternal and child health; civil society is dynamic, witness Grameen Bank and BRAC, which are translating grassroots democracy into development; women are more empowered; the press is vociferous; and Bangladesh actively combats terrorism. The nation pulses with optimism.

Nonetheless, Bangladesh's challenges are daunting. Its democratic institutions are weak; relations between the leading political parties are deeply polarized; corruption is a serious challenge; government's intentions toward civil society are unclear; and the nation is threatened by natural disasters and rising seas caused by climate change.

America is a strong partner of Bangladesh. We can be proud of helping Bangladesh confront its challenges, especially in health and disaster preparedness. Given Bangladesh's strategic importance and its prospects for a better future, Bangladesh is the beneficiary of the President's three major development initiatives: Feed the Future, the Global Health Initiative, and Global Climate Change. Bangladesh is an important partner as we build on President Obama's commitment to forge new relations with the Muslim world. If confirmed, I will advance America's interests by implementing these initiatives, while helping Bangladesh confront serious governance, human rights, and poverty concerns. I will also partner with the Bangladeshi-American community to achieve these shared objectives.

I believe Bangladesh is a good partner for the United States in building a better world. If confirmed, I will do everything in my power to build on the success of my predecessors to strengthen this partnership.

Madam Chairman and members of the committee, thank you again for the opportunity to appear before you today. I would be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.  
Mr. Hammer.



**STATEMENT OF MICHAEL A. HAMMER, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, NOMINATED TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS**

Mr. HAMMER. Thank you, Madam Chairman. It is an honor to appear before this committee as President Obama's nominee as the next Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs at the State Department. I am deeply grateful and humbled by the confidence President Obama and Secretary Clinton have shown in me with this nomination.

I would like to recognize my partner, staunchest supporter, and wife of 22 years, Margaret Bjorgulfsdottir, as well as our wonderful three children, Monika, Mike Thor, and Brynja, who have tagged along to all our postings through some difficult times on occasion, adjusting to new environments, but in their own right becoming junior American representatives.

I would like to also mention my parents, Mike and Magdalena, who set the foundation for who I am today. In my formative teen years, my father gave his life for our great country. It was his sacrifice and his commitment to public service that set me on the path that brings me here today.

For the past 23 years serving as a Foreign Service officer, it has been my duty and honor to work to advance America's interests abroad. If confirmed, I look forward to directing the State Department's public affairs efforts to aggressively and innovatively communicate our foreign policy to our fellow Americans and the world using every available media platform and tool. My approach would be to echo Secretary Clinton's: How can we do better? As she says, let's use smart power and 21st century statecraft.

The Public Affairs Bureau has an extremely challenging and important mission, to engage domestic and international media in order to communicate timely and accurate information, with the goal of furthering U.S. foreign policy and values. This task is carried out in the face of a dynamic and rapidly changing environment.

When I was called upon to serve as National Security Council Spokesman at the outset of the Obama administration, I realized how much the world had changed in the media environment from the time that I had served just a few years prior during the Clinton and Bush administrations. So it is clear that events today are getting instant coverage and social media is a prime competitor to mainstream media.

For communicators, this is surely a challenge. I would like to view it as an opportunity, an opportunity for reaching new and larger audiences and for engaging people on a broader scale. In today's highly competitive international media environment, we must be the ones that present America's foreign policy and not leave it to others to define us or shape our narrative. We do this by telling the truth about our policies, explaining the logic and values that guide us, and aggressively countering misrepresentation and distortion. This requires rapid response and constant engagement by our people in Washington and our public affairs officers in the field. We do this with daily press briefings and we run six regional media hubs with communicators who engage with foreign press in their languages.

The Public Affairs Bureau also has an important responsibility in connecting directly with the American people. It arranges for our foreign policy experts to speak to schools and universities, engage citizen groups across the country, and reach out to diaspora communities inside the United States. We field their inquiries, respond to their concerns, and listen to their opportunities.

The Bureau of Public Affairs is committed to using all of its communications resources, the tools and the people behind them, to promote who we are as a country and stand up for our beliefs, including speaking out for universal rights and basic freedoms, like the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press.

If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and Congress to ensure America's message is as vibrant and dynamic as it can be to move our country and the world forward. If confirmed, I would welcome your ideas and suggestions on how we can even more effectively present America's foreign policy, our history, and our amazing story.

Thank you and I'd be very pleased to take any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hammer follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL A. HAMMER

Thank you Chairman Shaheen and members of the committee, it is an honor to appear before you today as President Obama's nominee to serve as Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs at the Department of State. I am deeply grateful and humbled by the confidence the President and Secretary Clinton have shown in me by this nomination.

I would like to recognize my partner, staunchest supporter, and wife of 22 years, Margret Bjorgulfsdottir, as well as our three wonderful children; Monika, Mike Thor, and Brynja, who have moved with us, as part of my Foreign Service career from country to country, becoming in their own right junior American representatives. I would also like to mention my parents, Mike and Magdalena, who set the foundation for who I am today. In my formative teen years, my father gave his life for our great country. It was his sacrifice and the commitment to public service that he had instilled in me, that set me on the path that brings me here today.

For the past 23 years, serving as a Foreign Service officer, it has been my duty and honor to work to advance and promote America's interests abroad. If confirmed, I look forward to directing the State Department's public affairs efforts to aggressively and innovatively communicate our foreign policy to fellow Americans and the world through every media platform and tool available, 24 hours a day/7 days a week/365 days a year. My approach would be to echo Secretary Clinton's vision in presenting the first ever Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review: "How can we do better?"

In my prior position as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Public Affairs Bureau and since I was named Acting Assistant Secretary in March, I have spent time with every office and met with the fine civil servants, Foreign Service officers, political appointees, contractors, student hires, and interns who make up the public affairs team at the State Department. It would be a great privilege to lead this talented, dedicated, and hard-working group. The Public Affairs Bureau has an extremely challenging and important mission—to engage domestic and international media to communicate timely and accurate information with the goal of furthering U.S. foreign policy and values, as well as national security interests. This task is carried out in the face of a dynamic and rapidly changing media environment.

When I was called upon to serve as the National Security Council spokesman at the outset of the Obama administration, it was striking how much the media world had evolved since my prior stint at the NSC during the Clinton and Bush administrations. Events anywhere in the world now get instant coverage and social media is a prime competitor to the mainstream media. For communicators, this is surely a challenge. But, Secretary Clinton, the Public Affairs Bureau, and I view it more as an opportunity for reaching new and larger audiences and for engaging people on a broader scale.

At the State Department, with Secretary Clinton's strong leadership and call for "smart power" and use of "21st century statecraft," we are adapting to the ongoing communications revolution and making better and increasing use of all available platforms, while ensuring all these platforms work in concert with each other. It is vitally important that we not only conduct diplomacy between governments, but that we also use all the tools at our disposal to reach people around the world directly. Audiences globally are increasingly using the Internet as a primary means of consuming and sharing information breaking down barriers to information. The communications revolution has fundamentally transformed how information moves through networks and how rapidly it can penetrate societies. We must ensure that our messages and people are aggressively engaging on all key platforms—new and old.

This spring, as the dramatic events in the Arab world were beginning to unfold, the Public Affairs Bureau launched nine foreign language Twitter feeds in Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, French, Hindi, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Urdu. We are listening, communicating our views, and participating in the conversations that will shape this century. The State Department is committed to using technology effectively and creatively. This effort includes the creation of a new Digital Division within the Bureau and placing all of our digital content under unified leadership. The Digital Division recently launched "State Department Live!"; a new interactive online video briefing platform that already has allowed hundreds of foreign journalists around the world—many of whom have never before interviewed an American official—to speak with our policymakers and get their news directly.

In today's highly competitive international media environment, we need to present America's foreign policy and not leave it to others to define for us or shape our narrative. We do this by telling the truth about our policies, explaining the logic and values that guide us, and aggressively countering misrepresentation and distortion. This requires rapid response and constant engagement by public affairs officers in the field and in Washington, in a variety of languages. Our approach needs to align with and enhance that of the White House, the Pentagon, other national security agencies, and our USAID press office. I believe my time at the National Security Council, as well as my time within the Public Affairs Bureau at the Department, have prepared me for this challenge, if I am confirmed.

The Public Affairs Bureau runs six regional media hubs with communicators who engage foreign media in their languages throughout Africa, Asia, the Arab world, Europe, and the Western Hemisphere. The State Department is also working to better integrate our policy formulation with our public diplomacy efforts, thereby creating a synergy that better informs our policies and more effectively presents them. And, as we address the pressing questions from each day at our daily press briefings and across all our other platforms, we are thinking strategically about communicating our message and harnessing the power of technology to reach the broadest audiences possible. Our Web engagement must put the audience first and we need to communicate directly with networked individuals on their platforms in order to better promote understanding and support of our policies.

The Public Affairs Bureau also connects directly with the American people. We arrange for our foreign policy experts to speak to schools and universities, engage citizen groups across the country, and reach out to diaspora communities inside the United States. We field their inquiries, respond to their concerns, and listen to their opinions. We are also charged with bringing to life an interactive museum and visitor center that will tell the story of American diplomacy and run a Hometown Diplomat program that enables us to inform communities across America about the work we do in service of United States interests abroad. The American people are also benefiting from the Public Affairs Bureau with initiatives such as, the new mobile travel application that provides quick and easy access to relevant Department travel information informing them of fast breaking international developments like the evacuations in Egypt and Libya, as well as the earthquake, tsunami and nuclear incident in Japan earlier this year. We are also working to improve our crisis communications capabilities and are developing fly-away public affairs teams that bolster our Embassies' efforts on the ground when serious international events warrant it. In fact, we have already deployed effectively to Cairo, Tokyo, Juba, and Tripoli. Furthermore, everyone can learn about our diplomatic history in the Foreign Relations of the United States series published by our historian's office.

The United States plays a singularly vital role around the world promoting stability and prosperity. The Bureau of Public Affairs is committed to using all of its communications resources—the tools and the people behind them—to promote who we are as a country and stand up for our beliefs, including speaking out for universal rights and basic freedoms like freedom of speech and of the press. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and Congress to ensure

America's message is as vibrant and dynamic as it can be to move our country and the world forward, and if confirmed I would welcome your ideas and suggestions on how we can even more effectively present America's foreign policy, history and amazing story.

Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you all very much for your statements. We have lost, for the time being anyway, the other two members of the subcommittee who were here. But fear not. I have lots of questions, so all of your work will not have gone in vain. Besides, as I like to say, it's always a good sign when nobody shows up to ask questions, right? [Laughter.]

Ambassador Krajewski, I'm actually going to start with you. We both talked about in our statements the importance that Bahrain has played as an ally to the United States in a very critical region of the world. We share a wide range of security interests. But, as you pointed out, the country continues to struggle with the demonstrations and unrest within its borders. It has been strongly criticized by the United States and the international community for the crackdown against protesters.

I was interested that in your statement you talked about Bahrain's history of working to provide more freedom for the people of the country. So can you talk about why you think the reaction has been so—the crackdown against the protesters was so strong, and why, given that history, the country has not responded in a way that indicates more flexibility and appreciation for some of the issues that were being raised by the protesters?

Ambassador KRAJEWSKI. Thank you, Senator. When King Hamad became king in 1999, one of his first efforts was to expand political representation, to open political life. He even noted that he wanted to move Bahrain along a path toward a model of a constitutional monarchy. To that end, he established, the government established, a more representative lower body of Parliament and increased I guess we would call it civil society and civil freedoms.

We were working very closely with him in that effort, as were others, and were very encouraged by it. Bahrain was considered a leader in the region in these efforts.

All the more shocking the events of February and March, to Bahrainis themselves as well. I think the situation got out of hand. The government overreacted. We have, as you said, Senator, criticized quite strongly at the very highest levels of the U.S. Government these actions.

If confirmed, I will continue to criticize where criticism is warranted. I will also urge the government to continue its current efforts to try to recover from that shock, including continuation of such events as the national dialogue, to try to bring different factions of the country together to discuss the political future, as well as watching very carefully, closely, the reaction of the Bahraini Government to the release of the commission's report that will detail allegations of abuses and, most importantly, what the government will do about those accusations.

Senator SHAHEEN. Can you talk a little bit more about how the national dialogue has been received in the country? Has it included prominent members of the opposition who were raising concerns during the demonstrations?

Ambassador KRAJESKI. When the national dialogue was established, representatives of all factions of society were invited to participate. It was a fairly large conference, including representatives of the major and minor opposition parties, most of whom agreed to participate at the start.

During the conference the major opposition group, called Wefaq, decided to withdraw. They criticized the way the conference was set up and they withdrew from the dialogue. We think that was a mistake. We urged them to remain and we urged them to continue to participate in what we hope will be future efforts to bring the political society together again.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

On another issue very important to us, as you pointed out one of the reasons our security relationship with Bahrain is so critical is because of the Fifth Fleet's being based there. I wonder if you can talk about how strong you believe that security relationship is and how the people of Bahrain feel about the base being in their country?

Ambassador KRAJESKI. Thank you, Senator. This is a very important issue and if confirmed it will be one of my top priorities, to do everything I can to increase the strength of that relationship, because this is a region that confronts very real threats. Bahrain has been a steadfast partner, a strong partner to us.

You mentioned the Fifth Fleet port there. We have had U.S. Navy in Bahrain since 1947. It's one of our longest-standing security relationships in the gulf. I think that both governments and both countries recognize the value of this relationship and support joint efforts in the gulf, including the presence of the Fifth Fleet. It has been a very productive and a very valuable relationship, and it is mutually valuable.

I would also make one final point, Senator, that others in the region, our friends in the region, as we continue our operations in Afghanistan, as we confront terrorism and smuggling and, as you mentioned, Senator, as we confront the very real challenges and threats that Iran poses in the region, this partnership is increasingly important to all countries in the region.

Thank you, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. So you don't—you're not seeing that the political unrest in Bahrain has affected the relationship that we have, the security relationship that we have with the country?

Ambassador KRAJESKI. Senator, during the worst of the demonstrations, the worst of the confrontations, America was not an issue. We were not targeted. We were not part of that, of that event. Our Navy—personnel at the Navy facility there have their families with them. We live out in the community along with the families from the embassy and others. There are American businesses that have been there for many, many years.

We have no indication of any hostility toward Americans. Certainly a discussion of our policies, as there are in many places.

Thank you, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. To what extent were there signs that Iran was behind some of the political unrest?

Ambassador KRAJESKI. Thank you, Senator. The events in February and March in our view were clearly begun by Bahrainis, who

were expressing what I think is their right to gather, to express their views. We saw no evidence of Iranian instigation.

However, we're concerned about Iranian exploitation, as they will exploit every situation where they can. We have seen it in other countries and we are concerned about Bahrain as well. But this was a Bahraini-generated movement.

Thank you, Senator.

Senator SHAHEEN. As you think about your role as Ambassador and we think about the U.S. relationship, how can we continue to promote meaningful reform in the country?

Ambassador KRAJESKI. Senator, if confirmed that will be one of my top priorities. As I have said, we will encourage at every instance the continuation of a national dialogue, if you will, whatever form that might take. We will encourage all parties to participate in it.

We have indeed increasingly since 1999 and the beginning of these reforms under King Hamad partnered closely with them in civil society, working with human rights organizations, women's rights organizations, working on the political processes, free media, press. Our Middle East Partnership Initiative, MEPI, began back in 2003, conducts many programs with these nongovernment civil groups, as well as with government organizations. I if confirmed, I very much want to continue and increase that effort.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Mr. Mandell, you pointed out that financial services account for a large sector of Luxembourg's GDP and, although Luxembourg is a small country, it still has an important role to play in Europe, especially given the financial sector. So can you talk a little bit about how the ongoing crisis in Europe has affected that financial sector in Luxembourg and what steps or what involvement it might be having as Europe struggles with how to address this financial crisis?

Mr. MANDELL. Madam Chairman, thank you so much for that question. Yes, the financial sector in Luxembourg is about 25 percent of the GDP. Out of the 225,000 workers that work in Luxembourg, probably half of them work in the financial sector.

What's happened is that as the sector—of course, the eurozone issues have dampened the financial sector. But other sectors have begun to evolve. The biotech sector has begun to evolve, e-commerce has begun to evolve. The satellite systems that are housed in, based in, Luxembourg, as well as the Cargolux, which is one of the very major employers and does a terrific job in Luxembourg and employs 5,000 people, has just done a \$3 billion order with Boeing for more jets.

So other sectors are taking up the slack. I feel absolutely certain that the financial sector will rebound as the economy rebounds. I was told that the Cargolux expect that in 2012 their profits will rebound as well. So they've managed.

Senator SHAHEEN. So given that impact, what role are they playing in the discussions, if any, around how the EU should be responding to the challenges in Greece and some of the other EU countries? Are they on the side of Germany, or some in Germany, who think that it would be better not to continue to bail out countries who are in trouble? Or do they have a different point of view?

Mr. MANDELL. Senator Shaheen, thank you for that question. I can say that Prime Minister Juncker is the leader of the eurozone currency and I know that he and Secretary Geithner have been in significant conversations in Poland over the past 2 weeks. I'm not privy to those conversations and I'm not exactly sure how the discussions went, other than to say that I know that Luxembourg is a staunch ally of the United States and has been and certainly, as one of the founders of the EU and as one of the founders of the eurozone, I feel sure that it's one of their primary opportunities.

We really strongly support the efforts of our partner in the eurozone. It's going to be difficult and they're going to have to take some necessary measures, I'm sure, to restore growth and competitiveness. But I look forward to working collaboratively with Prime Minister Juncker and trying to establish a reasonable solution to these problems.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

You mentioned in your opening statement the work that's going on right now to try and combat the financing of terrorism and money laundering and the effort to get an agreement signed on that issue. Can you talk about how close we are to getting that kind of an agreement and how seriously it's being taken by the Government of Luxembourg?

Mr. MANDELL. What I can certainly talk about is the bank secrecy laws in Luxembourg. There was a period of time in 2009 where there was an issue with the bank secrecy laws by the OECD. That issue was resolved in a very short period of time by Luxembourg to make sure that their laws were transparent and according to the requests of the OECD.

Currently there is a protocol that is being dealt with in Luxembourg, which is to allow the Treasury Department of the United States to be able to look at the banks and the potential for tax revenues from Luxembourg and the Luxembourg reciprocally will be allowed to deal with the people in the United States.

I am told that that has been signed by the Luxembourgers and by the United States and is awaiting ratification by the Senate.

Senator SHAHEEN. So is it your view that the government is taking very seriously the concerns that have been expressed about money laundering and tax evasion?

Mr. MANDELL. Yes, ma'am. It's very clear to me that they have taken that extremely seriously. They are awaiting signature by the Senate, passage of the treaty by the advice and consent of the Senate. When that occurs, I know there will be rules and regulations which we'll have to work out as to exactly what it means and how it applies in Luxembourg. But I'm confident that, in collaboration with Prime Minister Juncker and the finance ministry, we'll be able to work out a successful and an appropriate alternative.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

You point out that that treaty, it's been passed out of this committee, it is awaiting action on the floor of the Senate. I am hopeful that we will get it to the floor and that we'll see positive action in the near future.

Mr. MANDELL. We'll be glad to help in any way that we can, ma'am.

Senator SHAHEEN. Great. Thank you.

Ambassador Mozena, one of the controversies that has generated a lot of reporting here in the United States has to do, that affects Bangladesh, has to do with Nobel laureate economist Mohamed Younis. As you know, he was removed from his position at the Grameen Bank by the Bangladesh Government, and of course there have been allegations that that was a political move, that there were not any real reasons for removing him beyond that.

I wonder if you could give us your assessment of that situation and what's currently going on with respect to Mr. Younis?

Ambassador MOZENA. Thank you, Madam Chairman. If I may, I'd like first to reflect a bit on my past experience in Bangladesh.

Senator SHAHEEN. Please.

Ambassador MOZENA. I made a point as I traveled extensively throughout the country to visit Grameen Bank borrowers groups, and I must say there's nothing more inspiring than joining a group of 10, of 12, of 14 women—not entirely women; there would be the odd man, but generally women—discuss how they can work together to help themselves improve their quality of life and, most importantly, to improve the quality of life of their children.

That was the most inspirational thing I did during my 3 years in Bangladesh, and I made a point of doing it over and over, and I intend to do that again if I am confirmed.

So you can well imagine that as I learned of government actions against the founder of Grameen Bank, the then-managing director of Grameen Bank, Mohamed Younis, you can well imagine how deeply troubled I was by that development.

That said, in May of this year Mr. Younis resigned as managing director. The focus now is to ensure that Grameen Bank, the institution, the philosophy, continues to function effectively in promoting the welfare of the people of Bangladesh, especially the women. I am pleased that Mohamed Younis continues on as the leader of the Younis Center. I am pleased that he continues on to play leadership roles in many of the associated companies with Grameen. I hope that he will be very much a part of ensuring that the new bank leadership will continue the good work that he created and sustained for these past years.

Senator SHAHEEN. So no formal charges have been brought against him by the government; is that correct?

Ambassador MOZENA. That's correct. He was effectively forced out of his position on the basis of the fact that he was older than the mandatory retirement age for Government of Bangladesh and other organization leaders. So on the basis of that, he was forced out of the position.

That's unfortunate, but Mr. Younis and all of us now are very much focused on sustaining the work that he created.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Currently there are war crimes trials that are being conducted, aimed at what happened when Bangladesh split from Pakistan. I remember that period very well because I did my graduate work on what was happening at the time. As you know, 3 million people, an estimated 3 million people, were killed, 10 million were displaced during that 1971 war.

Not very many people have been arrested for war crimes charges at this time. There has been some criticism of whether these trials



are politically motivated, whether they should be going on at all. Can you talk about whether the trials are being politicized or whether this is something that's being viewed in the country as helpful to moving forward?

Ambassador MOZENA. From a philosophical point of view, I support, the United States supports, accountability. But such accountability must be done in a transparent fashion, must be done in a fashion that protects the rights of the accused.

In that regard, I'm encouraged that the Government of Bangladesh has reached out to the United States to request our assistance in how best to conduct these trials, which have not yet begun. In response to that, Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues, Ambassador Stephen Rapp, has twice this year visited Bangladesh, in January and again in May.

In response to the request of the Bangladeshi authorities, he provided a long list of suggestions. In March of this year, he provided a list of suggestions for the Bangladeshis to consider in how to ensure that the war crime trials that they were planning were in fact consistent with Bangladeshi and international standards. I'm pleased that the Government of Bangladesh has taken many of those suggestions on board and has folded them into their procedures. I hope they will continue to review those suggestions. I hope they will in fact adopt more of them to ensure that any war crimes are in fact carried out transparently and up to international standards.

Ambassador Rapp remains available to be helpful in whatever fashion he can.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. That sounds encouraging.

You mentioned in your opening statement that Bangladesh is a prime candidate for President Obama's forward-looking foreign policy, and you pointed out that looking at how to help with the effects of climate change is one of the things that's very important in Bangladesh. Can you talk about the preparation that's going on there to help address this? I know that we're already beginning to see some changes, both in terms of weather patterns and sea levels there that are affecting people.

So how quickly are they responding in ways that they will need to in order to address the climate change that is being expected?

Ambassador MOZENA. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Bangladesh is one of the most vulnerable countries in the world to the effects of climate change. Dhaka, for example, which is over 100 miles away from the coast, is at an elevation of 26 feet. I remember one time visiting an airport in the far northwest section of the country and noting that the elevation, at this point about as far away as you can get from the Bay of Bengal and still be in Bangladesh, elevation was 57 feet.

That gives you a suggestion of the vulnerability of Bangladesh. In this context, you would not be surprised to learn that the Government of Bangladesh, the people of Bangladesh, are very, very focused on climate change and its impact on Bangladesh. We, the United States, working through President Obama's Global Climate Change Initiative, are working with the Bangladeshis to adapt to and to mitigate the effects of climate change.

Some very exciting things are happening. For example, we're working with the Bangladeshis successfully to create strands of rice that can grow in increasingly saline water. This is working and those areas, those districts closest to the bay, where the water is increasingly saline, you will see rice growing today.

We're working very effectively with the Bangladeshis to create new strands of other crops as well that will grow in this changing climate. We're working with the Bangladeshis to create embankments to elevate their fields. They have a practice of digging out one field and creating a fish pond and using that soil to raise another area. It's a very effective traditional way of dealing with this challenge and we're supporting that as well.

We are working a new initiative, working with the Bangladeshis on clean and efficient cookstoves. That may not sound like a big deal. It is a huge deal because these highly efficient cookstoves, which are made out of basic materials, out of clay that costs the equivalent of between \$5 to \$8, can reduce fuel consumption by 40 to 50 percent and thereby reduce the carbon output.

We've just signed a memorandum of understanding with the Bangladeshis to reduce their carbon footprint, which they're very interested in doing for the obvious reasons.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. Actually, Secretary Clinton talked about the work that we're doing around the cookstoves when she was before this committee. So it's a very interesting and important initiative.

A final question. You again mentioned in your opening statement that Bangladesh is the fourth-largest Muslim country in the world. Obviously, they are experiencing some terrorist activity from terrorist groups in the country. Can you talk about what kind of a threat that represents, either to the Government of Bangladesh and security in the country as well as to other regional interests or to the United States?

Ambassador MOZENA. Thank you. The Government of Bangladesh has been a very effective partner in addressing the threat of terrorism. They have moved resolutely, effectively, against domestic terrorism and against foreign-based terrorism. They have signed an accord with India, so the two neighboring countries are now cooperating in a fashion that they did not before to address the terrorist challenge, which is a challenge to both of them.

Nonetheless, the threat remains. It's a real threat. I'm pleased that the United States has partnered, continues to partner, with the Government of Bangladesh in dealing concretely with this threat. We have worked with the Government of Bangladesh in drafting and now enacting antimoney laundering legislation, antiterrorist financing legislation. We have worked with them to establish a financial intelligence unit.

We are working with their maritime security forces, their version of the Navy SEALs. We're working with the Army paracommandos to increase land border security. Through these and other steps, we're helping Bangladesh in a very real way take on the terrorist challenge.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Hammer, can you talk about how effectively the State Department and our diplomatic efforts are incorporating the new media tools?

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, Madam Chairman. Thank you very much for your question. I can tell you that in the time that I've been acting as the Assistant Secretary I've had the opportunity to work with the team at Public Affairs and they're very energetic, creative, and always looking for opportunities how we can best use social media. This spring during the happenings in the Middle East, we launched nine foreign language Twitter feeds, including Arabic, Farsi, Urdu, Hindi, Spanish, French, Russian, Chinese, and Portuguese, as part of another one of our efforts to use social media to connect and to be part of the conversation that is taking place around the globe.

We also just recently launched a digital platform through the Internet, [state.deplive](http://state.deplive), which allows our officials to be interviewed by foreign press around the globe through the Internet. We are in fact reaching hundreds of press who had previously not had an opportunity to interact with our officials.

So we are constantly looking to see what new emerging technologies are out there. We know we need to be the ones presenting our foreign policy. We need to know, need to be sure that we are part of the conversation. But we know that we face a challenge because it is moving, the media world, is moving at an incredible pace. So I know that's challenging for our professionals. We need to continue to train and bring in new expertise, and for that I'm looking forward, if confirmed, to leading the public affairs efforts at the State Department to do everything we can to advance our interests, because we believe public affairs is a critical component of the smart power that Secretary Clinton talks about.

Senator SHAHEEN. I was interested; not too long ago there was an interchange, an article in the New York Times, that reported on an interchange with the Taliban in Afghanistan on a blog, I believe. It was, I think, members of our military responding to what the Taliban were posting about what had happened in a particular incident in Afghanistan.

Is the State Department working with the military on those kinds of efforts in Afghanistan and other places around the world?

Mr. HAMMER. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Yes, in fact we are. I had the privilege of serving before taking this position at the National Security Council as the spokesman there, and our job was really to work through the interagency with the Department of Defense, Department of Homeland Security, with the other national security agencies, to work precisely on issues relating to this and social media, and using all available tools to be out in the field and monitoring what is happening.

Now, obviously, in my new position, if confirmed, we would continue to promote that interagency cooperation. In fact, Secretary Clinton announced in New York on 9-9 during her terrorism speech at the John Jay School that we have established a center for countering terrorism communication at the State Department, CSCC, and in fact that unit is working with the interagency to address some of the things that appear in blogs and to counter negative messaging against the United States. So we are very much en-

gaged and, if confirmed, will continue to work on these critical issues to our national security.

Senator SHAHEEN. I assume that that's a huge challenge just in terms of having somebody who can decipher what's being said on blogs, but then having the capacity on the part of whether it's our State Department or whoever to respond to some of what's out there. Can you talk about how you address that? How do you assign people to respond, particularly on a sensitive issue like what's happening in Afghanistan?

Mr. HAMMER. Well, Madam Chairman, that is a very good question. It is not currently within the domain of the Bureau of Public Affairs to address this issue. Our colleagues, as I mentioned, at the CSCC are working on that every day, if you'd like to get more information on exactly how we're doing this.

But it is a challenge to identify what we need to do and who can do it. Obviously, we need linguists that are able to participate in these blogs and to counter the messaging. But we're very well aware that it's critically important to be out in the blogosphere and to counter this very hateful and negative messaging that we see out there.

So it is something the State Department is working at and I'd be happy, if you'd like even more information, to provide that to you.

Senator SHAHEEN. I would. I'd be very interested in that. I probably should have asked my question a little differently, and that is: To what extent will you, should you be confirmed, will your office interact with that effort that goes on?

Mr. HAMMER. Well, Madam Chairman, if confirmed we would be coordinating, but not running, that effort. They keep us informed and let us know of their activities and solicit our views in terms of how best to communicate, so that we're doing it in an effective way and a coordinated way. But we certainly work very closely hand in hand. In fact, we're all under the same family of the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, so we do have meetings in which these issues are discussed and coordinated.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

As a spokesperson, as you pointed out, one of your responsibilities is to try and put the best face forward for the Department and for American foreign policy. But you're also responsible for trying to report accurately on what's happening. So can you talk about how you balance those two challenges, which don't always work hand in hand with each other? They are sometimes at odds.

Mr. HAMMER. Well, Madam Chairman, we definitely as spokespeople are committed to the truth and to explaining to the American people and the world our policies. So we do, obviously, try to cast things in the best way that promotes American interests, but we're always truthful to the information as we know it, and in our engagements we do make the best case possible for advancing our interests around the world and explaining the logic and reasoning behind our policies.

We know sometimes they're not well received, but we still feel that it is important to be communicating these. In fact, the more that people sort of understand our thinking and our reasoning, the

more likely they are to appreciate our policies, and perhaps we can bring them around to even supporting them.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

One of the challenges that we face is how we continue to engage the youth of the world. About 85 percent of the world's youth live in developing countries and as we look at—I mean, we saw the role that they played in the Arab Spring and are still playing. So are there ways in which the State Department can better engage the world's youth?

Mr. HAMMER. Absolutely, Madam Chairman. You raise an excellent point and something that we are very focused on. We have, Secretary Clinton has, appointed a youth ambassador and we work very closely with him and many other offices throughout the State Department to try to figure out how we can connect better with tomorrow's future, our youth and the world's youth.

So that's why it is critical that we engage in social media and we are in the areas of communication where they communicate, whether that's Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, texting, as you pointed out. It's important that we are part of that conversation, that they understand us. There are other elements, obviously, in the State Department that promote cultural exchanges and student exchanges, and that also is important because then the youth come and learn about the United States and our values firsthand. Those that can't, we obviously are trying to do that virtually, and more and more through our—we have our domestic program, the Home Town Diplomats program, where we're doing that, communicating to communities around the United States about the work that we do. But we're now moving to do that digitally, and perhaps we can also expand that even further to try to have these kinds of, if you will, town halls with more youthful audiences with people abroad.

The state.deplive that I mentioned before, that media platform actually is reaching out to, if you will, less experienced or up-and-coming reporters who might not otherwise have access. So we are trying to branch out and to reach as broad an audience as we can; realizing the world is so interconnected, we want to make sure we take full advantage of those opportunities. And if confirmed, that's what I'd be committed to do.

Senator SHAHEEN. When I was at the Kennedy School I took part in a State Department program that brought a number of young women from the Middle East over to the United States and then periodically did Web casts with them in the countries that they were from to continue that relationship. It seemed to be very effective.

Mr. HAMMER. Yes, Madam Chairman. In fact, if I may, our Foreign Press Center here, based in Washington, not too long ago conducted a blogger tour, in other words invited bloggers from around the world, including the Middle East, to come to the United States and meet their blogger counterparts. The reporting that came out of that was fascinating, and it's exactly the kind of thing that we need to be doing more of. We open ourselves up, people understand us better, and I think the net result over time is greater understanding for our country and for our policies.

Senator SHAHEEN. In your opening statement you mentioned the work that is done with various country diasporas that exist in

America. Can you talk about the kinds of things that you do with those communities?

Mr. HAMMER. Absolutely, Madam Chairman. We try to—for example, we had not too long ago, about a week ago, a meeting with the Haitian diaspora. What we're trying to do is to convey to those Haitian Americans or the different diaspora groups in the United States what the United States is doing in terms of our bilateral relationships, to develop even tighter bonds between the communities here in the United States and their original home countries.

Part of it is to promote sort of the kind of investment that helps those countries. Secretary Clinton is very eager to see that there's a connection, for example, with the Tunisian diaspora in the United States, so that we can help Tunisia in this moment when they need to be looking for foreign investment and connections.

So we have a fairly robust program. We focus it—I think in New York this week we did an outreach event as well with a variety of diaspora groups, to inform them of what the State Department is doing in terms of our policies and to leverage their connections to better inform us as well as to better connect with their home countries or their countries of origin.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

I have one final question for Mr. Mandell before I conclude. I missed this and I think it's very important, because it has to do with Luxembourg's involvement in NATO. In 2009 Luxembourg spent about .6 percent of its GDP on defense, which was under the 2 percent which is sort of the NATO informal benchmark. It's not alone in failing to meet that NATO benchmark, and this has been a topic of some consternation among some of the larger members of NATO.

So I wonder if you can address whether you believe or whether we have an official position on whether Luxembourg should be contributing increased financial resources to defense and to NATO and whether you have had or you know of any conversations in the country about that issue?

Mr. MANDELL. Madam Chairman, thank you for that question. Since I've not been to post and I've not been briefed on the NATO alliance as it relates to Luxembourg and the United States, I'm really unfamiliar with the answer to your question. But I would be glad to make sure that you receive an answer in a very short period of time. It just hasn't come up for me.

Senator SHAHEEN. Sure. Well, and I will call it to your attention because I think it's something that should be raised, particularly with a country like Luxembourg that is a relatively wealthy country in Europe and that has benefited very much from the defense of NATO or the defense that NATO provides, the security that it provides. This will be I think an increasingly important and challenging issue as we go forward and think about NATO's continuing role in the future.

Mr. MANDELL. Thank you. I'll be glad to talk to the people at the State Department about that and get an answer back to you as quickly as we possibly can. I appreciate your comment.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you.

Mr. MANDELL. Yes, ma'am.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you all very much. Thank you for your willingness to continue to serve this country. As I said, we hope that your nominations will go forward and be quickly confirmed by the full Senate.

Let me also point out that we will keep the record of the committee open until the end of business on Friday for any additional comments or questions that are presented.

Again, thank you all very much. The hearing is adjourned.  
[Whereupon, at 11:42 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

#### ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

RESPONSES OF THOMAS C. KRAJESKI TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR JOHN F. KERRY

*Question.* During the crackdown in Bahrain, over a thousand protesters were detained. There have been credible reports of severe mistreatment of detainees, including medical personnel, and trial of civilians taking place in military courts.

- What steps will you take as Ambassador to try to urge the Bahraini Government to cease these practices and restore the rule of law?
- How has the administration sought to influence the Bahraini Government's response to the unrest?

*Answer.* The United States remains firmly committed to the principles of freedom of association, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and medical neutrality, which requires that health care professionals be allowed to treat any individual regardless of background and identity.

We are deeply concerned by reports of violations in Bahrain this spring and beyond. There is well-founded information from human rights organizations and others alleging that security forces mistreated detainees, arrested patients while in treatment, and instructed medical personnel not to treat those who may have been injured during protests. We condemn the violation of these rights wherever they occur.

These and other alleged incidents fall under the purview of the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry, a fact-finding mission convened by the government and led by international commissioners of excellent reputation. I will urge the Government of Bahrain to take the report's recommendations seriously and take action as necessary and appropriate.

*Question.* Section 620J of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 imposes restrictions on assistance to any unit of a foreign country's security forces for which there is credible evidence that the unit has committed gross violations of human rights. U.S. embassies are heavily involved in ensuring compliance with this requirement.

- If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that the Embassy effectively implements section 620J?
- In particular, what actions will you take to ensure, in a case in which there is credible evidence that a gross violation of human rights has been committed, that assistance will not be provided to units that committed the violation?
- What steps will you take to ensure that the Embassy has a robust capacity to gather and evaluate evidence regarding possible gross violations of human rights by units of security forces?
- Please provide a detailed account of how section 620J has been applied to the Bahraini security forces in 2011. This account may be provided in a classified format.
- In recent years Bahrain has received approximately \$20 million per year in Foreign Military Financing. What changes, if any, have been contemplated to the program in light of the recent events in Bahrain?

*Answer.* The United States continually evaluates its military assistance to all countries. Foreign security force units and candidates proposed for assistance, including such forces from Bahrain, undergo a thorough section 620J review process to confirm that there is no credible evidence that the recipient has committed gross violations of human rights. This vetting is conducted with the INVEST (International Security Vetting Security Tracking) system, which assists us in conducting thorough checks of the human rights records for nominated candidates. Leahy vetting is initiated at the USG Embassy in the home country of the candidates, and

completed in Washington using all available sources of information. Use of the INVEST system has improved the vetting process, and is allowing the Department to maintain and expand a human rights vetting database. In accordance with legal requirements, the United States will not deliver training or assistance in cases where there is credible evidence that a unit or individual has committed a gross violation of human rights.

Our Embassy in Manama and the Department of State continue to gather information on the conduct of Bahraini forces surrounding the events of February, March, and beyond. The late October report of the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry, a body with a broad mandate to investigate human rights violations during the demonstrations and security crackdown, will assist us in the vetting process as we incorporate its findings into our review of proposals to provide assistance to specific forces.

If confirmed, I plan to discuss our military assistance program with Bahraini officials and remind them of our firm commitment to carrying out our security assistance programs in a manner consistent with our legal obligations and policy concerns regarding respect for human rights.

*Question.* Bahrain is home to over 400,000 migrant workers, many of them from South and Southeast Asia, working in the construction and service industries as well as in the domestic service sector. According to the Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report of 2011, some of these workers have been subjected to practices such as the unlawful withholding of passports, restriction on movement, contract substitution, nonpayment of wages, threats and physical or sexual abuse as well as human trafficking and forced prostitution.

- If confirmed, what will you do to address these issues?
- In recent years, Bahrain's Ministry of Labor has indicated it would move to end the sponsorship ("kafala") system that leaves migrant workers vulnerable to trafficking. What progress has been made to date in abolishing the "kafala" system?

*Answer.* We are concerned about reports, discussed in the 2011 State Department Trafficking in Persons Report, that describe abuses migrant workers suffer at the hands of their employers in Bahrain. As a Tier-2 country, Bahrain does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so. The government continued to investigate and prosecute forced prostitution cases and convicted nine trafficking offenders in 2010-2011. In addition, the government assisted 17 victims of forced prostitution. Nonetheless, there were no reports of government efforts to punish forced labor crimes, nor any indication that the Government of Bahrain took steps to institute a formal victim identification procedure or otherwise improve victim protection efforts during this period.

The government's lack of efforts to acknowledge and address forced labor remains a key gap in its antitrafficking response. If confirmed, I will encourage the Bahraini Government to vigorously pursue trafficking cases, expand protection for victims of trafficking, and prevent incidents of forced labor as they have pledged.

*Answer.* According to the General Federation of Bahrain Trade Unions, thousands of Bahrainis have lost their jobs in the aftermath of the government crackdown. On August 19, the Christian Science Monitor reported that firings were ongoing and that while the government had pledged to rehire workers, progress had been slow.

- How do you view the situation and what can be done to speed up the rehiring process?
- What can be done to return students who were expelled because of their involvement in the protests, to their classrooms?
- Over the last few months, the Bahraini Government has barred foreign journalists, human rights workers, and foreign trade unionists from entering the country. What can the U.S. Embassy do to promote open access by these groups to the country?

*Answer.* We have closely followed reports of violations of worker rights, restraints on union activity, and ongoing unfair dismissals. We believe that returning workers to their jobs and students to their classrooms is the single most important step the Government of Bahrain can take to reintegrate the broader Shia community and reassure them of the Government of Bahrain's commitment to the economic well-being and education of all Bahrainis. In April, the AFL-CIO submitted a petition to the Department of Labor asserting that Bahrain had failed to uphold its commitment to protect labor rights under the U.S.-Bahrain FTA. The Department of Labor is investigating this claim and will release a report in December with its findings. If



confirmed, I will call on the government to move quickly and transparently on rein-statements as a way to build confidence.

We were disappointed that foreign journalists, human rights workers, and foreign trade unionists were denied visas in certain instances. If confirmed, I will raise these visa issues with the Government of Bahrain.

*Question.* On June 29, 2011, the His Majesty King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa announced the establishment of the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry led by M. Cherif Bassiouni. What is your assessment of the prospects for the success of the Bassiouni Commission and other paths to reconciliation? What steps will the United States take to help the Bahraini Government build the trust necessary among all sides to enable a credible national dialogue to move forward?

*Answer.* We support the important work of the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry. It has a broad mandate to investigate the events of February onward and report on human rights violations during this period. The presence of five internationally recognized experts with considerable human rights experience on the Commission is a positive sign, and we have urged the Government of Bahrain to cooperate fully with the Commission's investigation.

We will continue to urge all parties, across the political spectrum, to engage constructively in an ongoing process of political accommodation in order to achieve meaningful reform.

In July, the government initiated a National Dialogue as one mechanism to begin the reform process. We believe that more can be done. Genuine reform will allow Bahrain and its citizens to enjoy a more stable and security future.

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RESPONSES OF DAN W. MOZENA TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR JOHN F. KERRY

UNITED STATES-BANGLADESH RELATIONS

*Question.* I am glad to witness the recent positive trajectory in U.S.-Bangladesh relations. The United States has a number of important priorities in Bangladesh, including strengthening its democracy, promoting development, and denying space to terrorists. Washington is partnering with Dhaka to advance signature U.S. global initiatives on climate change, food security, and global health, as well as outreach with the Muslim world, to name just a few issues where we are working together.

- What specific areas do you consider to be most ripe for further U.S.-Bangladesh cooperation, and how can Congress contribute to building this increasingly important relationship?

*Answer.* I believe that the United States has strategic interests in Bangladesh as follows:

- *Global Security:* Bangladesh is the seventh most populous country in the world; it has the fourth-largest Muslim population. Bangladesh is a moderate, secular, and democratic Muslim-majority country that offers an alternative to violent extremism.
- *Regional and Global Peace and Stability:* Located in one of the world's most troubled regions, Bangladesh fosters regional peace and stability through its improving relations with its neighbors, especially India. Bangladesh is also the world's largest manpower contributor to international peace support operations. It currently has over 10,000 peacekeepers in the field, a number it seeks to increase to 15,000.
- *Global Food Security:* As the world's seventh most populous nation, Bangladesh is critical to the world's ability to feed its growing population, which is projected to reach 9 billion within my lifetime. With good policies and targeted technical assistance, Bangladesh could feed itself.
- *U.S. Trade and Investment:* U.S.-Bangladesh trade will reach a record \$5 billion this year; this amount includes over \$1 billion in U.S. exports, exports that create needed jobs and wealth in America. A U.S. company (Chevron) is Bangladesh's largest foreign investor. With a growing middle class as its poverty rate drops (from 40 percent to 31.5 percent over the past 5 years), Bangladesh offers increasing opportunities to U.S. exporters and investors.
- *U.S. Values:* Bangladeshis like America and are open to our ideas. Core U.S. values, such as democracy and respect for human rights, find fertile soil in Bangladesh.
- *Humanitarian Interests:* Bangladesh is highly vulnerable to natural disasters. Reflecting Americans' basic decency and care for other people, the United States

can help Bangladesh prepare for disasters and mitigate the impact after disaster hits.

I believe that the best way to advance these key American interests in Bangladesh is to promote a Bangladesh that is peaceful, secure, prosperous, healthy and democratic. If confirmed, I would lead Mission Dhaka to this end.

Congress can help nurture the U.S.-Bangladesh partnership by ensuring adequate resources for those programs that advance America's interests by promoting a Bangladesh that is peaceful, secure, prosperous, healthy, and democratic, and by maintaining its already robust interest in this bilateral relationship to the mutual best interests of both countries. As a former Peace Corps Volunteer, I know well the benefits that a Peace Corps program in Bangladesh would offer in terms of both advancing America's interests in Bangladesh and building a better informed and internationally aware citizenry at home. Peace Corps would like to return to Bangladesh, but lacks the resources to launch a renewed program there.

#### DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

*Question.* In December 2008, Bangladesh held what some U.S. observers consider the fairest and most credible parliamentary elections since independence. Those elections created the hope that the Government of Bangladesh (GOB) would use its popularity to strengthen democratic institutions and national reconciliation. But there are unfortunately signs that this government has not distanced itself from the previous zero-sum, highly centralized politics of the past that at times has prevented Bangladesh from realizing its full potential.

- What are your observations with regard both to the strength of Bangladesh's democratic institutions and recent developments in Bangladesh's politics?

*Answer.* Bangladesh is fortunate to have a strong tradition of democratic governance. During my travels in Bangladesh 10 years ago when I served there as Political/Economic Counselor, I saw firsthand the people's strong commitment to democracy, and believe that the Bangladeshi people themselves are the strongest guardians of their democratic rights. Nonetheless, those rights are being challenged. Earlier this year, the current Awami League-led government abolished the Caretaker Government system that it had helped to create to protect the electoral system from political interference; the opposition Bangladesh National Party has strongly opposed this action. The United States has called upon both major parties to work together to develop mutually agreed mechanisms for ensuring that the next elections are free and fair. If confirmed, I will urge leaders of both major parties and civil society to work together in the best interests of the Bangladeshi people to ensure that the next national elections are as free and fair as those of 2008. Drawing from my own experience in Bangladesh a decade ago as Bangladesh headed into the 2001 elections, I would work to ensure that the United States plays a constructive role in helping Bangladesh strengthen its electoral and other democratic institutions. Already, the mission has begun preparations to support the Bangladesh Election Commission in concert with other donors through the United National Development Program framework.

Although Bangladesh's press has traditionally been one of the freest in the South Asian region, I am concerned about recent trendlines, including the arrests of editors and reports of pressure on news organizations to self-censor. If confirmed, I will continue to emphasize to the Government of Bangladesh my belief that a free press is vital to a fully functioning and mature democracy.

I am encouraged that Bangladesh's Parliament is playing a more active role in governance and oversight. For example, the parliamentary standing committee on the Ministry of Home Affairs recently expressed concern over the amount of force the government used against opposition activists during a nationwide demonstration, and ordered an internal investigation. Additionally, the parliamentary standing committee on the Ministry of Information rejected a draft policy from the Ministry on private broadcasters that would limit media freedom. We urge constructive engagement in Parliament between the government and opposition political parties and emphasize the need for a strong Parliament working with robust democratic institutions.

I am also encouraged that governance in Bangladesh is being increasingly decentralized, a process the United States has supported. Elected local government and creation of local funding sources are important steps in bringing governance closer to the people. If confirmed, I would continue to support the decentralization of governance.

## INTERNATIONAL CRIMES TRIBUNAL OF BANGLADESH

*Question.* The International Crimes Tribunal of Bangladesh (ICT) has begun trying persons accused of committing atrocities during the 1971 war. Many observers have been encouraged by the fact that the GOB is taking steps toward achieving accountability for very serious crimes. However, the ICT has also been subject to some criticism. Among other things, international observers have raised concerns about interrogations without counsel present, lengthy precharge detentions, the inability to challenge the jurisdiction of the tribunal or make interlocutory appeals, the lack of the presumption of innocence, the lack of protection for victims and witnesses and the potential for self incrimination.

- a. Has the administration raised similar kinds of concerns with the GOB, and if so, how has it responded to suggestions?

*Answer.* At the invitation of the Government of Bangladesh, Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues Stephen J. Rapp visited Bangladesh twice this year. During these visits he engaged with the government as well as those involved with the prosecution, defense and NGOs, underscoring the importance of due process and adherence to international standards, including in regard to the rights of the accused, excessive detentions, and defendants' access to counsel, among other matters. After his first visit, Ambassador Rapp wrote a letter to the Minister of Law offering a number of suggestions for the International Crimes Tribunal's Rules of Procedure. The Government has implemented some of these suggestions, and I hope that it will consider adopting more of them. Ambassador Rapp and Embassy Dhaka continue to engage on this matter with the Bangladesh Government, which I believe remains open to further changes that would strengthen the process.

- b. What steps has the administration taken to assist the GOB in ensuring the ICT is consistent with widely accepted practices and standards?

*Answer.* Ambassador Rapp's engagement with the Bangladeshis and his extensive list of suggested changes to rules of procedure are important elements in our efforts to help ensure that these trials meet international standards. Ambassador Rapp's office and Embassy Dhaka have conducted assessments of the capacity of the various parties to the process, including the offices of the judges, prosecutors, investigators, and the registrar of the International Crimes Tribunal. We have shared best practices and sample material with the investigators' office at their request. We hope the Bangladeshis will take fullest advantage of this support.

- c. All of the accused sit in opposition to the ruling party. Are you concerned that the proceedings' impartiality could be put into question by political considerations?

*Answer.* The International Crimes Tribunal could provide a means to hold accountable those Bangladeshis who committed atrocities during the nation's liberation in 1971. However, the fact that all of the accused are members of opposition parties places an especially heavy onus on the Tribunal to ensure transparency, due process, and thorough adherence to the highest standards of equitable justice, especially in regard to protecting the rights of the accused. It will be critical for the ICT to engage the public and provide the maximum possible transparency and access to ensure that it is perceived as independent, impartial and fair while striving to achieve justice for the victims of the atrocities in question. Ambassador Rapp's office and Embassy Dhaka remain engaged with the Government of Bangladesh at the highest levels to urge transparency and adherence to international standards.

## GRAMEEN BANK

*Question.* I am deeply troubled by the efforts to pressure Muhammad Yunus that concluded in his resignation as managing director of the Grameen Bank (Grameen) earlier this year. Institutions like the Grameen Bank make a significant contribution to Bangladesh's development and democracy, and Professor Yunus's life-long work to reduce poverty and empower women through microloans has deservedly received worldwide attention and respect. I hope he will continue to play a leadership role in the Yunus Centre and entities associated with Grameen without undue interference.

- What steps is the U.S. Government taking to emphasize the importance of Grameen's future autonomy and effectiveness given its historic role in improving the lives of millions of Bangladeshis?

*Answer.* When I served in Bangladesh a decade ago as Political/Economic Counselor, I frequently visited Grameen Bank projects in the field and saw firsthand the impact that Grameen microfinance projects have on the poor, especially the women.

Grameen is about more than project financing; it is about taking responsibility for improving one's own quality of life and nurturing the children so theirs can be a better life. Inspired by the Grameen philosophy and its real impact on improving the lives of millions of Bangladeshis, I was understandably troubled to learn of government pressure to remove Grameen founder and Managing Director Muhammad Yunus, culminating in his resignation from Grameen Bank on May 12. Like Dr. Yunus and many of Bangladesh's other international supporters, the United States Government is focused on preserving the integrity and effectiveness of Grameen Bank as an institution so that it can fulfill its commitment to its over 8 million poor, mostly female, beneficiaries. If confirmed, I would continue USG efforts to underscore to the Government of Bangladesh at the highest levels the importance with which we view the Bank's continued success, and urge that the Bank's new Managing Director be fully qualified to lead this critically important institution. The Government, for its part, has affirmed its commitment to the continued success of the Bank. The case of Grameen Bank also has broader implications for Bangladesh's vibrant civil society, which plays a crucial role in Bangladesh's development. If confirmed, I would support a strong, energized, effective, independent civil society

#### COUNTERTERRORISM

*Question.* The GOB has made significant inroads in fighting extremism under the Awami League. Bangladesh's strong national identity, its relatively recent liberation struggle, and the legacy of a moderate Islam are factors that inhibit radicalism. The country appears to be moving beyond a lack of political will that conspired with the country's porous borders, ungoverned spaces, and capacity constraints in the past to allow transnational and domestic terrorists to operate. Nevertheless, the threat still remains.

- a. If confirmed, what steps would you take to strengthen the U.S.-Bangladesh partnership in fighting terrorism and build on the progress to date in this area?

*Answer.* The Government of Bangladesh is a committed partner in combating terrorism. The GOB has maintained pressure on domestic and transnational terrorist groups, including the capture of members from Harkat-ul-Jihad Islami-Bangladesh (HUJI-B) and Lashkar-e-Tayiba (LeT). However, Bangladesh remains a potential safe haven and transit hub for transnational terrorists because of its porous borders and large swaths of internal ungoverned/poorly governed space. Much of its land border with India can be crossed undetected; huge gaps exist in patrolling Bangladesh's remote Bay of Bengal coast; airport security is lax; and there are no secure identification documents available as a basis for issuing Bangladeshi passports. Lashkar-e-Tayiba continues to have a presence in Bangladesh. If confirmed, I would work with the Government of Bangladesh to build capacity among its relevant security agencies. I would also engage the government on the importance of respecting human rights while conducting counterterrorism programs and maintaining law and order.

- b. In recent years, the terrorist group Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) has received considerable attention for masterminding attacks like the one that took place in Mumbai, India, in November 2009. What is the nature and scope, if any, of LeT's activities in Bangladesh?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would support continued USG engagement with Bangladesh to combat terrorism. For example, the Embassy, especially its Department of Justice office, played a key role in advocating Bangladesh's 2009 passage of new antimoney laundering and new antiterrorism laws (the latter addressed antiterrorism finance for the first time). In 2010, the ministerial-level National Coordinating Committee Against Money Laundering was established under the leadership of the Finance Minister to encourage government bodies to fulfill their commitments under the National Action Plan to address Anti-Money Laundering (AML)/Counter-Terror Finance (CTF). The United States also helped Bangladesh establish a Financial Intelligence Unit.

I would also support ongoing U.S. military assistance to Bangladesh in standing up a naval special operations unit (the Special Warfare and Diving Salvage unit—SWADS), which has defense of maritime borders and combating terrorism as core missions. Training continues and the unit is expected to be officially commissioned by the end of the year. In 2010, SWADS and other Bangladesh security elements participated in the largest combined joint counterterrorism exercise in Bangladesh history. The exercise, sponsored by PACOM, involved over 600 Bangladesh counterterrorism personnel and over 200 U.S. Special Operations forces. The Embassy also participated in the exercise and provided a liaison team to the combined

joint task force's forward headquarters in Chittagong. If confirmed, I would hope to foster and deepen such cooperation.

"LEAHY AMENDMENT" VETTING

*Question.* Section 620J of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 imposes restrictions on assistance to any unit of a foreign country's security forces for which there is credible evidence that the unit has committed gross violations of human rights. U.S. embassies are heavily involved in ensuring compliance with this requirement.

- a. If confirmed, what steps will you take to ensure that the embassy effectively implements section 620J?

*Answer.* Embassy Dhaka, in coordination with the Department of State, runs an effective Leahy amendment vetting process. As required by the Leahy amendment and other law, all Bangladeshi security force personnel who receive training supported by U.S. funds are vetted by the Department of State. In cases where credible evidence exists that an individual has committed a gross violation of human rights, U.S.-funded training is denied. If confirmed, I would continue discussions on the requirements of the Leahy amendment and U.S. insistence on respecting human rights with the Government of Bangladesh and, more specifically, the leadership of the Bangladesh security services.

- b. In particular, what actions will you take to ensure, in a case in which there is credible evidence that a gross violation of human rights has been committed, that assistance will not be provided to units that committed the violation?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would work directly with all Embassy elements to ensure that when there is credible evidence of a gross violation of human rights, the Embassy would deny the candidate training and record a negative hit against the name to preclude the candidate from consideration for any future training.

- c. What steps will you take to ensure that the Embassy has a robust capacity to gather and evaluate evidence regarding possible gross violations of human rights by units of security forces?

*Answer.* If confirmed, all individuals and units of Bangladeshi security services selected for training will continue to be scrutinized by a vigorous vetting process. I would bolster Embassy Dhaka's comprehensive database of credible human rights reporting and its strong network of sources; both are critical to vetting every candidate proposed for U.S. Government-funded training or assistance. The Embassy's human rights officer is responsible for coordinating Leahy amendment vetting; this officer maintains good contacts with both local and international human rights organizations to ensure proper quality control on information used for vetting training candidates. The requirements of the Leahy amendment are a regular part of our discussion of human rights with the Government of Bangladesh and especially the leadership of the Bangladesh security services. If confirmed, I would continue this dialogue.

ROHINGYA ETHNIC MINORITY

*Question.* I am very concerned by the plight of the Rohingya ethnic minority that has fled deprivations in neighboring Burma and settled in large numbers in the Cox's Bazaar region of Bangladesh. While seeking to do what they can, GOB officials in Dhaka sometimes have also shown weariness over having to address the difficulties created by the massive migration of Rohingya in an area that has poverty rates significantly above that of the rest of the country.

- a. What is your understanding of current conditions in the official and unofficial camps housing Rohingya?

*Answer.* Ten years ago when I served in Bangladesh, I visited the Rohingya camps and found the conditions deplorable. Earlier this year, Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration Eric Schwartz and his deputy, Kelly Clements, visited the camps as well. They told me that many Rohingya, particularly those living outside the official camps, continue to suffer greatly, especially from malnutrition and lack of access to basic services such as health care and education. The United States remains most concerned by the situation of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. The U.S. Government supports the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, the International Organization on Migration, and several NGOs working to improve conditions for the refugees.

- b. How would you characterize the GOB's ongoing response to this challenging situation?

Answer. The USG appreciates that the GOB has allowed up to 500,000 Rohingyas to seek refuge in Bangladesh. We remain engaged with the GOB to find ways to improve the living conditions of these refugees, many of whom are undernourished and lack access to basic services. I am pleased that when Assistant Secretary Schwartz visited the refugee camps several months ago, the GOB agreed to consider resuming limited third-country resettlement for the most vulnerable cases and to allow international NGOs to resume some assistance activities. If confirmed, I would engage robustly with the GOB, other donors, and multilateral organizations to address the plight of the Rohingya. The long-term solution to the problem, of course, lies in Burma, which must create conditions whereby the refugees could voluntarily return to their homes in a dignified manner.

- c. Are humanitarian groups able to receive adequate access to Rohingya settlements, and are they encountering any difficulties in obtaining the necessary official permissions to carry out their important work?

Answer. International NGOs have faced some challenges in receiving permission to provide services to the Rohingya. However, they continue to provide assistance where possible in the official refugee camps and in the surrounding villages of Cox's Bazar District. I hope that Assistant Secretary Schwartz's visit will result in these NGOs getting greater access to the refugees.

#### REINTRODUCTION OF PEACE CORPS

*Question.* The Peace Corps program in Bangladesh was suspended in March 2006 due to safety and security concerns. At the time of the program's suspension, 70 Volunteers were operating in the country. Historically, more than 280 Peace Corps Volunteers have served in Bangladesh since the program's inception in the 1960s (in what was then East Pakistan). The Government of Bangladesh has expressed interest in reopening a Peace Corps program. As the world's seventh most populous country and fourth-largest Muslim community with a sizeable youth bulge, this moderate, secular democracy would seem to be a strong candidate for the reintroduction of the Peace Corps.

- a. Are the security concerns that led to the Peace Corps program's suspension still present today?

Answer. Peace Corps closed its Bangladesh program in 2006 for prudent security reasons. Since then, however, the security environment in Bangladesh has dramatically improved, thus allowing, in my view, for the return of Peace Corps Volunteers. Bangladesh's deepened security relationship with the United States and with India, among others, has enabled Bangladesh to make important progress in improving the country's security environment.

- b. What are the benefits, from your perspective, of reopening a Peace Corps program in Bangladesh?

Answer. Bangladesh is a developing country undergoing rapid change. Over 80 percent of the population is under the age of 40; about 65 percent is under the age of 25. This young and enterprising population pulses with optimism. This new generation is eager to learn how to improve their own lives, and the older generation has helped to make Bangladesh one of our most successful recipients of development assistance by achieving substantial progress in reducing poverty and improving a wide range of development indicators. Opinion polls show that Bangladeshis have a largely positive view of the United States, and that Bangladeshis like America more as they know it better. As a former Peace Corps Volunteer, I believe Bangladesh is a quintessential Peace Corps country. I am a firm believer in the power of Peace Corps to advance U.S. interests by bringing some of America's best and brightest to conduct people-to-people diplomacy in the towns and villages, where most of Bangladeshis live. These Volunteers could advance America's interests by supporting key programs in the sectors of food security, civil society strengthening, health, education, and the environment, among others. The Government of Bangladesh has requested that Peace Corps return to their country, where over 250 Americans have served with distinction.

- c. If sufficient funds were available in what we all know is a tight budgetary environment, would you support a resumption of programming in Bangladesh?

Answer. Reopening a Peace Corps program in Bangladesh would be one of my top goals as Ambassador, if confirmed. I would argue that, despite a tight budgetary environment, Peace Corps is a program that would bring high returns on a modest investment by strengthening the relationships and bonds between the people of our two countries and our two governments. A Peace Corps program would also pay rich dividends in building a better informed and internationally aware citizenry at home.



## TRAFFICKING-IN-PERSONS

*Question.* In the State Department's "Trafficking in Persons Report," Bangladesh has been designated as a Tier-2 Watch List country for the last 3 years following its Tier-2 designation in 2008. The country remains a major source and transit country for sex trafficking and forced labor.

Men are recruited for work overseas under fraudulent employment offers and subjected to debt bondage, while some women who willingly migrate to find work outside of their country find themselves forced into prostitution. Children also face such exploitation, sometimes being sold into bondage by their parents.

The GOB has drafted comprehensive antitrafficking legislation that would, among other measures, combat trafficking through criminal prosecutions and provide protection services to the populations vulnerable to trafficking and forced labor. Bangladesh, however, has yet to enact the legislation into law.

- a. If confirmed, what steps would you take to encourage the GOB to address effectively and constructively the exploitation of its citizens and foreign nationals that are trafficked in and through Bangladesh? In particular, what are your views on the draft antitrafficking law that was recently submitted to the Cabinet?

*Answer.* Our Embassy in Dhaka, the Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, and the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs assisted the Government of Bangladesh in the drafting process of this countertrafficking legislation, which we believe is strong, effective legislation. This legislation was bolstered by several rounds of local and national consultations involving experts, law enforcement, returning migrants and trafficking victims. If confirmed, I would work to ensure that Bangladesh enacts this countertrafficking legislation, preferably before the end of the year. I would also work with the government to help them draft and operationalize regulations and policies needed to effect the new legislation. The Bangladeshi Cabinet has approved the draft legislation, and it now awaits formal passage by Parliament, which reconvenes in October.

- b. If Bangladesh succeeds in passing the antitrafficking law, what capacity-related challenges does it face in enforcing these measures, and how might the United States be helpful in this area?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would engage on trafficking issues with Bangladesh through the recommendations and rankings in the TIP Report, action plans, foreign assistance, and diplomatic relationships. I would urge Bangladesh to criminalize the activities of fraudulent labor recruiters and to ensure that its embassies, particularly in the gulf, adequately protect Bangladeshi citizens. If confirmed, my aim would be for Bangladesh to show such progress that it would move from the Tier-2 Watchlist to Tier 2 and eventually to a Tier-1 designation.

Bangladesh's principal capacity-related challenge in enforcing these measures is a need for technical and foreign assistance. The U.S. Government, through the Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, USAID's Actions for Combating Trafficking in Persons program, and the Department of Justice's programs, has a number of capacity-building projects underway in Bangladesh. These programs, which played a central part in helping the Government of Bangladesh draft this antitrafficking legislation, would also help Bangladesh in crafting policies and regulations to ensure effective implementation of the legislation.

## LABOR

*Question.* In the last year, Bangladesh has witnessed many protests by garment workers arising out of perceived mistreatment and low wages. The government increased the minimum wage in response but the increase fell short of worker expectations, prompting more demonstrations. We have received reports that human rights defenders and labor leaders have been targeted by authorities.

- Human rights and labor organizations state there are three pending cases against the leadership of the Bangladesh Center for Worker Solidarity, an internationally respected, nonpartisan labor rights NGO. These individuals reportedly face unsubstantiated criminal charges, and the organization has been deregistered. We understand that the U.S. Embassy in Dhaka is closely monitoring this case, the outcome of which could have significant ramifications for human and labor rights in Bangladesh. If confirmed, what steps would you take to encourage a resolution that defends labor rights?
- There are some in the GOB and civil society who are calling for genuine union rights for garment workers. Unfortunately, inadequate development and deficiencies in human rights go hand in hand, one reinforcing the other. How

would you work to strengthen voices for labor rights, and protect those who defend workers' rights in Bangladesh?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would ensure that Embassy Dhaka regularly engages with the Government of Bangladesh on the important role of labor rights in building a robust, sustainable economy, one that can participate effectively in the global marketplace. The 10 cases pending against the three leaders of the Bangladesh Center for Workers' Solidarity (BCWS) are especially important as they also concern the Government of Bangladesh's commitments to due process and equitable treatment. The Embassy regularly attends hearings on these cases, and the Government of Bangladesh at all levels is aware of our continuing interest in these cases.

The Embassy continues to work with the BCWS and the Government of Bangladesh to get the organization reregistered with the Ministry of Social Welfare. The Ministry's decision was not final, and we are encouraging BCWS to utilize the option of a judicial appeal.

Protection of core labor rights is a standard of U.S. foreign policy around the world, especially in Bangladesh, where the booming ready-made garment industry and a decidedly mixed record on labor rights makes this issue particularly resonant. Progressive actors inside and outside the Government of Bangladesh have long called for genuine union rights. USAID's Global Labor Program funds the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS) in Bangladesh, and ACILS is working to strengthen union capacity by identifying and supporting honest actors in the movement. Recently, the Government of Bangladesh registered a new ready-made garment union, the country's second in 4 years, in the port city of Chittagong. Embassy Dhaka and ACILS are working with other nascent unions to capture the momentum and build on this success. Embassy Dhaka regularly engages with the Government of Bangladesh through the Ministry of Labor and the Prime Minister's Office to encourage positive attitudes toward union creation.

The Embassy also urges the International Labor Organization to move expeditiously in implementing what will be its largest ever program to improve labor conditions, the Better Work Bangladesh program. This program will use financial incentives to encourage companies to adhere to core international labor standards.

RESPONSES OF THOMAS C. KRAJESKI TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR

*Question.* While the Arab Spring has seen calls for reform, political inclusion, and human rights across the region, it seems clear that the movement is not monolithic, and that each country that has sought democratic change has done so for unique reasons and in different circumstances. What leverage can the administration employ to ensure that calls for reform in Bahrain are taken seriously by its government?

*Answer.* The United States and Bahrain have a longstanding partnership and we speak frankly with one another. We will continue to urge all parties, across the political spectrum, to engage constructively in an ongoing process of political accommodation in order to achieve meaningful reform.

Bahrain has introduced reforms to address some of the protesters' demands. The government initiated a National Dialogue and an Independent Commission of Inquiry as mechanisms to move forward on reconciliation and begin the process of genuine reform. We believe, however, that more can be done. Genuine reform will allow Bahrain to enjoy a more stable and security future.

*Question.* The Government of Bahrain launched a national dialogue in July to bring together the people of Bahrain to discuss demands for reform. Key members of the opposition and the labor movement, however, were excluded, and Bahrain's main Shia opposition, Al-Wefaq, pulled out of the dialogue after initially only being offered nominal participation. In your testimony you highlighted the importance of the national dialogue. If confirmed, what can you do as Ambassador to ensure a more meaningful, inclusive, and credible dialogue process?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will support and encourage initiatives the Government of Bahrain takes toward reconciliation and reform. We have welcomed recent steps to promote reconciliation and political dialogue, but more needs to be done. The National Dialogue that took place in July was the first formal step in what I hope will be a broad and comprehensive reform initiative. We expect that future dialogues will bring a wider range of Bahraini stakeholders to the table to discuss the way forward. As President Obama said in May, it is difficult to have a dialogue when several of the main opposition leaders are in jail. It is also difficult, however, when the main opposition group refuses to participate. Facilitating genuine, con-



certed and energetic effort toward reconciliation, dialogue, and reform in Bahrain will be one of my highest priorities.

*Question.* The State Department has reported that Bahrain's Shia majority faces discrimination by the Government of Bahrain. If confirmed, will you make this issue a priority in your discussions on reform with Bahraini officials?

Answer. If confirmed, I will urge the Government of Bahrain to confront concerns that Shia citizens face discrimination as evidenced by lower socioeconomic indicators and less access to the political decisionmaking process than the Sunni minority. As noted in my testimony, it is important that all communities in Bahrain play a role in determining Bahrain's future.

*Question.* You noted in your testimony that there has been no evidence of instigation by Iran in the unrest in Bahrain but that there is concern of Iran exploiting it. How is this influence likely to manifest itself in the coming months and what preparations is the administration making to mitigate Iran's influence in Bahraini affairs?

Answer. We do not see evidence that Iran instigated protests in Bahrain. The initial protests were called by Bahrainis for Bahrainis demanding reforms and greater political participation. However, we have seen and expect we will continue to see Iran attempting to exploit and exacerbate unrest to advance its agenda in neighboring countries and undermine peace and stability in the region.

One of the greatest bulwarks against Iranian influence is a strong and stable Bahrain that is inclusive and respects the rights of all its people. Recent efforts by the Bahraini Government to restore confidence and promote reconciliation are good first steps. Meaningful reforms have the potential to lessen sectarian tension, thus denying Iran the ability to exploit unrest to its gain.

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RESPONSES OF MICHAEL A. HAMMER TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR

*Question.* In what ways do PA's activities overlap with the public diplomacy activities of the other Bureaus under the organization of the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs? How does the Bureau of Public Affairs coordinate with those public diplomacy bureaus? How does PA coordinate with PA offices in other "non-R" bureaus?

Answer. Organizationally, the Bureau of Public Affairs (PA) falls under the Under Secretary of Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (R) along with three other entities: the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA), International Information Programs (IIP), and the Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications (CSCC). The mission of the R-family according to the Strategic Framework for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs is to advance national interests and national security by informing and influencing foreign publics by expanding and strengthening the relationship between the people and government of the United States and citizens of the rest of the world. Each bureau contributes to this with its own specific mission.

PA is charged with engaging domestic and international media to communicate timely and accurate information with the goal of furthering U.S. foreign policy and national security interests and broadening understanding of American values. In carrying out our mission, the Public Affairs Bureau employs a wide range of media platforms, provides historical perspective and conducts public outreach.

PA is committed to an effective use of resources, avoiding overlap or duplication of effort between bureaus, and streamlining when possible under R's leadership and supervision. The Public Diplomacy Strategic Framework lists as an imperative the need to "deploy resources in line with current priorities . . . [and to] strengthen structures and processes to ensure coordinated and effective Public Diplomacy."

PA coordinates with our public affairs colleagues in each bureau on a regular and daily basis. Among the efforts we coordinate are: formulating and deploying press guidance for the daily press briefings; pitching and organizing press interviews and briefings on topical foreign policy matters; and executing strategic communications planning based on the Secretary's and the Department's priorities.

*Question.* The Bureau of Public Affairs oversees the Office of the Historian which is tasked with preparing the "Foreign Relations of the United States" (FRUS) historical series.

- Since placing the FRUS online, how has public use of the information increased; are bound volumes still being produced?

- FRUS is currently behind schedule with the post-30-year inclusion requirement—why is that, how far off schedule is it?
- How many staff work to produce each volume?
- What are the next five volumes scheduled for publication and what are their publication dates?

**Answer.** The Office of the Historian produces bound volumes for the Federal Depository Library Program (FDLP), since “Foreign Relations” has been deemed by the FDLP to be an “essential title for public use.” The Office is also committed to making FRUS available to a much broader audience by placing all volumes on the Office Web site. By placing FRUS online the Office has facilitated the further dissemination of volumes in the series to scholars and other interested parties around the world. In the most recent month, we have received more than 29,000 online visits from 173 countries.

The Office is constantly commended both at home and abroad for making critical documentation on the history of U.S. foreign relations both widely and readily available. For many in the international community, online FRUS volumes represent the only access they have to records concerning the relations between their countries and the United States.

In spite of the overwhelmingly positive response to the Web site, there is still a large demand for FRUS print volumes. In the past 2 years, for example, the Government Printing Office (GPO) has had to double the number of FRUS volumes printed for public sale. While all of the 28 volumes covering the Carter administration will be placed online, roughly half of those volumes will also be printed and delivered to Federal Depository Libraries. More than half of the 46 volumes planned for the Reagan administration, which we have begun researching, will be printed and all will be published online.

The law under which the Office of the Historian produces the “Foreign Relations of the United States” series (PL 102–138) mandates “comprehensive documentation of the major foreign policy decisions and actions” based on access to all foreign policy related files, and that the series be published at the 30-year line. Since 1991, the Office of the Historian has struggled with the tension inherent in these competing requirements, and has only partially met the 30-year publication timeframe. FRUS is currently behind schedule for several reasons. The Office recently completed two studies that examined the compiling, declassification, and publishing timeframes for FRUS. These studies suggest that the length of the declassification process, the steadily expanding scale of the work necessary to document U.S. foreign relations during the 1970s and 1980s, and staffing level and retention challenges (now resolved) that disrupted the Office have contributed to the delay in the publication of FRUS volumes. The Office of the Historian is committed to trying to achieve its goal of publishing at the 30-year line in the near term without jeopardizing the quality of the series.

Because of the unique nature of the “Foreign Relations” series, producing a single volume requires the work of up to five historians to perform various complex production and declassification tasks. One historian conducts archival research, compiles the documentation, and annotates the manuscript for clarity. Supervisors review the manuscript to ensure that it meets the congressionally mandated requirement to provide a “thorough, accurate, and reliable record” of United States diplomatic activity. The Declassification staff coordinates the declassification review of the manuscript, referring documents to the appropriate agencies and ensuring that all declassification decisions and excisions are accurately rendered to protect all classified national security information. The editing staff performs all tasks associated with preparing the volume for publication including, technical editing, proof-reading, and the creation of electronic files for the office Web site.

The next five volumes scheduled for publication are:

- September 2011: Vol. XIII, Soviet Union, October 1970–September 1971;
- October 2011: Vol. XXXIV, National Security Policy, 1969–1972;
- October 2011: Vol. XXXVI, Energy Crisis, 1969–1974;
- October 2011: Vol. XV, Soviet Union, 1972–1974;
- January 2012 Vol. XXVI, Arab-Israeli Dispute, 1974–1976.

**Question.** The Department, through a public-private partnership, is planning a new museum and visitor’s center for the U.S. Diplomacy Center, to be housed in the Truman Building. What is the status of the U.S. Diplomacy Center’s new museum and visitor’s center? How much money has been raised and how much more is needed? Please provide a fuller update regarding the status of the Center.

**Answer.** A key project the Bureau of Public Affairs is working to realize is the establishment of the United States Diplomacy Center (USDC), which will be dedicated to telling the story of American diplomacy and the Department of State, past,

present, and future, through a dynamic, interactive education center. The USDC has received commitments of nearly \$18 million in private donations toward its \$50 million capital campaign.

The Bureau of Public Affairs recently released funds to issue a Reimbursable Work Authorization (RWA) contract for 65 percent Design Development of the USDC. As contract administrator, General Services Administration (GSA) receives the funds and issues the contract to project architect Beyer Blinder Belle. The U.S. Commission of Fine Arts has officially approved the design for the center.

We believe that the USDC will offer an opportunity to better educate the American public and foreign visitors about the important work of U.S. diplomacy and the sacrifices that American diplomats make in service to the United States and to address the world's challenges.

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RESPONSES OF THOMAS C. KRAJESKI TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR ROBERT P. CASEY, JR.

*Question.* According to human rights activists in Bahrain, the Bahraini Government's National Dialogue process has failed to produce concrete results or a credible path forward on political reform. In his May 19 speech on the Middle East, President Obama stated that "the [Bahraini] government must create the conditions for dialogue, and the opposition must participate to forge a just future for all Bahrainis." The President also underscored that "you cannot have a real dialogue when parts of the peaceful opposition are in jail."

- I agree with the President on the need for a real political dialogue in Bahrain. What leverage does the United States have to encourage meaningful democratic reform in Bahrain based on the precondition set out by President Obama?

*Answer.* The United States and Bahrain have a longstanding partnership and we speak frankly with one another. We will continue to urge all parties, across the political spectrum, to engage constructively in an ongoing process of political accommodation in order to achieve meaningful reform.

Bahrain has introduced reforms to address some of the protesters' demands. The government initiated a National Dialogue and an Independent Commission of Inquiry as mechanisms to move forward on reconciliation and begin the process of genuine reform. We believe, however, that more can be done. Genuine reform will allow Bahrain and its citizens to enjoy a more stable and security future.

*Question.* The United States has been criticized for not effectively engaging with Bahraini human rights activists when the initial crackdown against peaceful protestors began in February. Eight months later, 34 people have been killed, more than 1,400 have been arrested, and as many as 3,600 people have lost their jobs as a result of the Bahraini Government's continued repression of its own citizens.

- What specific steps will you take to ensure that the United States is proactively and visibly reaching out to Bahraini civil society?
- Will you make an effort to reach out to civil society members beyond the Embassy's traditional interlocutors?

*Answer.* Bahrain's vibrant civil society has played an indispensable role in setting the country on a path to greater reform and inclusiveness. If confirmed, I plan to support their important work. As Secretary Clinton has said, "Civil society holds governments accountable, keeps them honest, and helps them be more effective." I will engage all elements of Bahraini society and engage the Bahraini Government on the need to protect associational freedom. I hope to meet with many of them face-to-face and engage with new technology such as online townhalls and Facebook. If confirmed, I will work to protect the universal rights of all people to organize, gather peacefully, and speak freely without fear of retribution. I share Secretary Clinton's view that "If we're going to take advantage of this historic moment, we have to tap the expertise, experience, and energy of civil society".

*Question.* There have been reports of possible Iranian intervention in Bahrain's internal political situation. Iranian leaders have criticized the Bahraini crackdown, and Bahrain and Iran have withdrawn their ambassadors from each other's capitals.

- What is your assessment of Iran's role in supporting the Shia opposition movement in Bahrain?

*Answer.* We do not see evidence that Iran instigated protests in Bahrain. The initial protests were called by Bahrainis for Bahrainis demanding reforms and greater political participation. However, we have seen and expect we will continue to see

Iran attempting to exploit and exacerbate unrest to advance its agenda in neighboring countries and undermine peace and stability in the region.

One of the greatest bulwarks against Iranian influence is a strong and stable Bahrain that is inclusive and respects the rights of all its people. Recent efforts by the Bahraini Government to restore confidence and promote reconciliation are good first steps. Meaningful reforms have the potential to lessen sectarian tension, thus denying Iran the ability to exploit unrest to its gain.

*Question.* Crown Prince Shaikh Salman bin Hamad has long been considered a proponent of democratic reform and has taken steps to accommodate Bahrain's Shiite majority. However, in recent months the Crown Prince has been publicly sidelined by the more conservative Sunni hard-liners, including Interior Minister Rashid bin Abdulla Al Khalifa.

- What role do you see the Crown Prince playing in the future of Bahraini politics, and how might the United States engage with him to support democratic reform and stability?

*Answer.* We welcome efforts by all members of the Bahraini Government, political associations, and civil society that foster greater inclusion, dialogue, and tolerance. As Ambassador, I plan to work with all parties who are striving for reform in Bahrain, including the Crown Prince, who has demonstrated genuine leadership and vision.

*Question.* There are serious concerns about the state of religious freedom in Bahrain. According to the Bahrain Center for Human Rights, the Bahraini Government has destroyed 43 Shia mosques and religious structures since the protests began in February, and, despite assurances from the government to rebuild destroyed mosques, no such construction has begun. Moreover, the State Department's recently released International Religious Freedom Report noted that the Sunni Muslim population enjoys favorable status in the government, while the Shia population continues to face systematic discrimination in employment, housing, and military service.

- How will you work to protect religious freedom for the Shia majority in Bahrain, including the rebuilding of mosques and Shia religious sites that were destroyed during the government crackdown?

*Answer.* We take violations of religious freedom seriously and continue to be concerned by reports of discrimination against the Shia community. If confirmed, I will raise the issue of the alleged destruction of sites of religious worship in Bahrain and urge the Government of Bahrain to comply with its international obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which it is a signatory. I will also urge Bahrain to refrain from any violations of religious sites or impede the personal practice of religion. If confirmed, I will expect the Government of Bahrain to allow the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry, a body with a broad mandate to investigate recent alleged abuses, to conduct thorough and transparent investigations into any human rights violations that may have been committed and to take appropriate steps to redress these violations.

*Question.* The Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) notified Congress on September 14 of a possible Foreign Military Sale (FMS) to Bahrain worth an estimated \$53 million. The proposed sale includes Armored High Mobility Multi-Purpose Wheeled Vehicles, TOW Missiles and associated equipment, parts, training and logistical support. Given credible reports of human rights violations by Bahraini security forces, I am concerned that this proposed sale could send the wrong signal to the Bahraini people at a time of increasing government repression.

- In your view, should the United States reexamine its military assistance to Bahrain in light of the ongoing government crackdown?
- What specific steps will you take to ensure the effective implementation of the Leahy Law (section 620J of the Foreign Assistance Act) to ensure that Bahraini military, police, and other security units receiving U.S. assistance are not credibly alleged to have committed a human rights abuse? Will you raise the importance of this legal requirement directly with the Bahraini Government?

*Answer.* The United States continually evaluates our military assistance to all countries. Every new assistance program and sale undergoes a thorough section 620J review process that ensures that there is no credible evidence that the recipient has committed gross violations of human rights. Bahrain is no exception. Our Embassy in Manama and the Department of State in Washington continue to gather information on the conduct of Bahraini forces surrounding the events of February, March, and beyond. The Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry, a commission with a broad mandate to investigate human rights violations during the crackdown,

will also assist in this process. All new information is considered during the vetting process and informs any determination on security assistance or training. If confirmed, I plan to discuss our military assistance program with the Government of Bahrain and remind them of these legal requirements.

*Question.* The Bahraini Government continues to commit systematic human rights abuses, including the denial of medical services, while simultaneously targeting medical providers as evidenced by the arrests of 23 doctors and 24 nurses from the Salmaniya Medical Complex earlier this year. As recently as September 15, human rights groups reported the detention of individuals seeking medical care for injuries sustained from the excessive use of tear gas by riot police.

- As Ambassador, how will you prioritize the protection of medical neutrality to ensure Bahraini compliance with its international obligations under the Geneva Conventions, which offer special protections to medical facilities and personnel who assist the wounded during times of conflict?

*Answer.* The United States remains firmly committed to the principle of medical neutrality, which requires that health care professionals be allowed to treat any individual regardless of background and identity.

We are deeply concerned by reports of violations of medical neutrality in Bahrain during this spring's unrest. Human rights organizations have alleged that security forces arrested patients while in treatment and instructed medical personnel not to treat those who may have been injured during protests. We condemn the violation of medical neutrality, a right enshrined in the Geneva Conventions.

These alleged incidents fall under the purview of the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry, a fact-finding mission convened by the government and led by international commissioners of sterling reputation. I will urge the Government of Bahrain to take the report's recommendations seriously and take needed action on medical neutrality concerns and the many other issues raised during this period.

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RESPONSES OF DAN W. MOZENA TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR ROBERT P. CASEY, JR.

*Question.* For decades, Bangladesh has borne witness to gross human rights abuses including war crimes committed during the 1971 war of independence. According to the State Department's 2010 Human Rights Report, Bangladeshi security forces continue to commit extrajudicial killings and are responsible for custodial deaths, torture and arbitrary arrest. Although it has been effective in combating militant extremism, there are particular human rights concerns regarding the Rapid Action Battalion's activities.

- a. What is the U.S. assessment of the Rapid Action Battalion?

*Answer.* The Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) has a dismal human rights record, as detailed in the State Department's annual Human Rights Report. According to credible sources, members of the Rapid Action Battalion have committed extrajudicial killings and other serious human rights violations with impunity and little, if any, accountability.

Because of the Rapid Action Battalion's poor human rights record, the United States has limited its engagement with the RAB to efforts to improve the RAB's record on respecting human rights. On September 20, a retired U.S. DEA agent arrived in Dhaka to be "embedded" with the Rapid Action Battalion for 3 months to help it establish and operationalize an independent internal affairs unit that would investigate allegations of misconduct and, I hope, improve the organization's record for respecting human rights. The Rapid Action Battalion's success (or lack of) in utilizing this internal affairs unit to rein in its members will be a litmus test for assessing whether and, if so, how we will further engage with the Rapid Action Battalion.

- b. What specific steps will you take to ensure the effective implementation of the Leahy Law (section 620J of the Foreign Assistance Act) to ensure that Bangladeshi military, police, and other security units receiving U.S. assistance are not credibly alleged to have committed a human rights crime? Will you raise the importance of this legal requirement directly with the Bangladeshi Government?

*Answer.* As required by the Leahy amendment and other law, all Bangladeshi security force personnel who receive training supported by U.S. funds are vetted by the Department of State. In cases where credible evidence exists that an individual has committed a gross violation of human rights, U.S.-funded training is denied. If confirmed, I would continue discussions on the requirements of the Leahy amend-

ment and U.S. insistence on respecting human rights with the Government of Bangladesh and, more specifically, the leadership of the Bangladesh security services.

*Question.* The ruling Awami League (AL) has achieved significant gains in the fight against Islamic extremism, including the arrest of the militant leader Maolana Sheikh Farid in April. However, serious concerns remain over the opposition Bangladesh National Party's (BNP) longstanding ties to Islamist parties such as Jamaat-i-Islami, which led a countrywide protest earlier this week that resulted in 50 people injured and 480 detentions.

- How do you assess the current Bangladeshi Government's commitment to fighting Islamic extremism?
- As Ambassador, what steps will you take to address the roots causes of terrorism in Bangladesh?

*Answer.* The Government of Bangladesh is strongly committed to combating violent extremism, including regional and transnational terrorism. Bangladesh is cooperating with its neighbors, most importantly India, to fight terrorism. This cooperation has resulted in the arrest of terrorist suspects who were hiding in Bangladesh. The Bangladeshi Government has also taken increasingly more aggressive actions against regional and domestic terror organizations. Our growing counterterrorism engagement with Bangladesh has supported the government's campaign against violent extremism.

If confirmed, I would increase our support of Bangladeshi efforts to counter violent extremism through programs such as our "Leaders of Influence" program, which taught local imams how to work with the NGO community to bring development to their people. This program focused on those areas of Bangladesh most susceptible to radicalization. More than 20,000 local religious and secular leaders, over 10,000 of whom were imams, participated in this program, which offered alternative paths to increasing opportunities for development. Our programs would also include a significant youth component, targeting the very group that tends to be the most easily manipulated by extremist factions. Embassy Dhaka also uses English instruction as a platform for engagement, development, and countering violent extremism in Bangladesh. Students and teachers from governmental (alia), nongovernmental (qami) religious schools/madrassas, and community religious leaders/imams are engaged through English language training. As an added effect, students, teachers, and influence makers share their training with nonparticipants as well as the positive perceptions about the U.S. developed during their participation in the training.

A U.S.-funded community-based policing program is improving public trust and cooperation between local police and the communities they serve. This program, too, is focused in an area considered especially vulnerable to extremist ideologies. In addition, Embassy Dhaka is also working to improve Bangladesh's counterterrorism capabilities through military-to-military engagement. U.S. experts have provided training to Bangladesh's nascent Special Warfare and Diving Salvage Unit (its version of the Navy Seals), Coast Guard, and select army units to enhance their capacities to combat terrorism.

If confirmed, I would further address the root causes of violent extremism by redoubling efforts to promote economic prosperity through both development programs and expanded U.S. trade and investment in Bangladesh. By working to encourage entrepreneurship and increase economic growth, we would reduce space for violent extremists to recruit unemployed and underemployed youth who are frustrated by limited economic opportunities.

*Question.* I have serious concerns about the Bangladeshi Government's ability to combat human trafficking. Bangladesh is a Tier-2 human trafficking watch country and a major source and transit country for men, women, and children subjected to forced labor and sex trafficking. While I welcome the Bangladeshi Government's recently introduced comprehensive antitrafficking legislation, more needs to be done to protect the rights of innocent Bangladeshi and foreign citizens.

- As Ambassador, how will you support the Bangladeshi Government's efforts to fully and effectively implement its comprehensive antitrafficking legislation?
- How is the United States engaging with other source countries in the region, particularly in the gulf, to combat human trafficking?

*Answer.* Our Embassy in Dhaka, the Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, and the South and Central Affairs Bureau helped the Government of Bangladesh draft effective, countertrafficking legislation. If confirmed, I would work to ensure that Bangladesh enacts this countertrafficking legislation, preferably before the end of the year. I would also work with the Government to help them draft and operationalize regulations and policies needed to effect the new legislation.



The Department of State engages on trafficking issues with Bangladesh through the recommendations and rankings in the TIP Report, Action Plans, foreign assistance, and diplomatic relationships. The Department urges Bangladesh to criminalize the activities of fraudulent labor recruiters and to ensure that its embassies in the gulf adequately protect Bangladeshi citizens. The Department urges the destination countries in the gulf to reform their sponsorship systems (which contribute to labor trafficking) to ensure that migrant workers can obtain legal redress, to criminalize passport withholding (or to enforce those laws, if already passed), and to prosecute human traffickers.

*Question.* Demographic pressures and environmental challenges pose a serious threat to Bangladesh's food security. Rising sea levels and increased salinity in low-lying areas have led to lower crop yields at a time of increasing population growth, with some estimates predicting the population could double to 300 million by 2050.

- What steps is the United States taking to help mitigate the adverse effects of climate change to ensure Bangladesh's future food security?
- As Ambassador, how will you work to promote the long-term sustainability of U.S. and international assistance programs in Bangladesh, such as Feed the Future, the Global Health Initiative, and the Global Climate Change Initiative?

*Answer.* The U.S. Government climate change strategy in Bangladesh is aligned with the Government of Bangladesh's Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan, which recognizes that the adverse effects of climate change are a major development challenge. Through the Feed the Future, Global Health and Global Climate Change Initiatives, the United States is working to improve the management of natural resources while diversifying livelihood opportunities, managing climate risk and enhancing capacity for low emission development, so Bangladesh can mitigate the adverse effects of climate change while also providing sustainable economic benefits and clean energy resources.

For example, under the Feed the Future Initiative, the United States is supporting efforts to develop and apply innovative technologies to increase agricultural productivity while helping farmers adapt to the effects of climate change. Accounting for 48 percent of the actively employed labor force and 21 percent of gross domestic product, agriculture plays an integral role in the lives of the people of Bangladesh. The USG is supporting research efforts to develop pest and climate shock-resistant crop varieties with higher yields and increased nutritional content. Once these improved varieties have been developed and tested, they will be scaled up to benefit farmers across Bangladesh. The USG is also introducing best practices in agricultural management such as conservation agriculture using minimum tillage, fertilizer deep placement and alternative wet-dry irrigation.

The USG is also focusing on improving fisheries and aquaculture production through improved brood stock, disease-free seed and the introduction of cage production technologies. These technical efforts will be complemented by capacity-building programs for farmers, business and government representatives, as well as efforts to improve the business enabling environment and overcome production and marketing bottlenecks.

USAID has embarked on an ambitious procurement reform effort that aims to channel significant portions of our development funding through local organizations. Thus, USG programs in key sectors are increasingly implemented by local experts and organizations. These reforms build capacity and technical skills in addition to advancing USG objectives in food security, agriculture, health and climate change. All activities have sustainability plans that focus on our ultimate goal of "working ourselves out of a job."

If confirmed, I would continue to coordinate with the Government of Bangladesh and other donors to ensure that our collective efforts are complementary and aimed at achieving sustainable results. The GOB has developed national strategic plans in key sectors that correspond with our Feed the Future, Global Health and Global Climate Change Initiatives. The USG is a member of the local consultative group, a mechanism for donor coordination that is led by the GOB Ministry of Finance. By coordinating with other donors and aligning our programs with GOB strategic planning, Embassy Dhaka ensures the sustainability of USG development programs.

*Question.* I have been impressed by the administration's stated intention to engage more deeply with civil society around the world. It is imperative that the United States forge broad coalitions across all sectors of civil society, including political activists, academics, business leaders, faith-based communities and NGOs.

- What specific steps will you take to engage with civil society in Bangladesh?

- Will you make a special effort to reach out to civil society members beyond the Embassy's traditional interlocutors? Will you travel to all regions of the country to ensure a broad-based approach to the Embassy's civil society outreach?

Answer. Nowhere is engagement with civil society more important than in Bangladesh. Civil society in Bangladesh has led and sustained much of the progress Bangladesh has made in recent decades on many fronts, including maternal and child health, women's empowerment, disaster preparedness and management, and education. Pioneering civil society organizations include BRAC and the Nobel Peace Prize-winning Grameen Bank, which revolutionized the concept of microfinance by providing millions of poor people, especially women, with access to capital through microloans. Civil society also encompasses hundreds of smaller organizations outside the international limelight, including some that partner with USAID on a number of foreign assistance projects. If confirmed, I would work tirelessly to ensure that foreign and local NGOs are able to continue their good works without undue restriction, helping Bangladeshis to help themselves, while bolstering democratic institutions and fostering economic development. I would continue my predecessors' tradition of consulting regularly with civil society leaders as I seek to build on and expand Embassy Dhaka's already robust engagement with Bangladeshi civil society groups.

I know from personal experience, especially my Peace Corps service in then-Zaire over 35 years ago, that engaging with civil society leaders is important not only in capitals, but in towns and the countryside, where, in the case of Bangladesh, most of the people live. Though many of these places may be remote and difficult to get to, if I am confirmed as Ambassador, I would visit all 64 of its districts. Harkening back to my Peace Corps days, I'm not afraid of getting my hands dirty, and I want to meet and hear from the people doing the hard work of development at the grass-roots level.

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RESPONSE OF ROBERT A. MANDELL TO QUESTION SUBMITTED  
BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

*Question.* In 2010, Luxembourg spent approximately 0.6 percent of GDP on defense, which is well below the 2.0 percent of GDP that is the NATO target. Should Luxembourg contribute more to NATO?

Answer. The Luxembourg Army is the sole military force for the Grand Duchy, which has no air force, navy, or air defense force. The Luxembourg Army has an approximate strength of 1,000 troops. A founding NATO member, Luxembourg contributes troops to nine international missions, including 23 troops to the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and 9 troops to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan, which are embedded with Belgian troops in Kabul. Luxembourg also contributes a troop contingent to NATO, as well as territorial facilities and logistic support, with the NATO Maintenance and Support Agency (NAMSA) headquartered in Capellen and U.S. Air Forces in Europe Central Region Storage Facility in Sanem. Recognizing the limitations of direct military contributions due to its small size, Luxembourg has sought other avenues to make meaningful contributions. Luxembourg has made a long-term commitment to purchase A400M heavy cargo aircraft to address strategic lift shortfalls in NATO, which will be based in Belgium and maintained by the Belgian Air Force. Luxembourg also provided overseas development assistance in 2010 in the amount equal to 1.05 percent of GDP, which is well above the international target norm of 0.7 percent of GDP. The Government of Luxembourg believes that consideration should be given to its overall contributions, as well as to its defense contributions on a per capita basis, since the population of Luxembourg is approximately 500,000.

We recognize Luxembourg's strong contributions given its size, and we continue to encourage all NATO allies to commit 2 percent of GDP to defense. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Government of Luxembourg to ensure that it continues to support NATO and its burden-sharing responsibilities within the alliance.